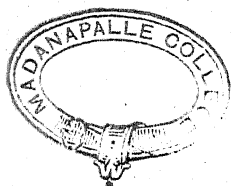




THE STORY OF THE IONIC REVOLT  
AND PERSIAN WAR.





THE

# STORY OF THE IONIC REVOLT AND PERSIAN WAR .•

AS TOLD BY

HERODOTUS.

SELECTIONS FROM THE TRANSLATION OF CANON RAWLINSON,  
REVISED AND ADAPTED TO THE PURPOSES  
OF THE PRESENT WORK

BY

C. C. TANCOCK, M.A.

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*WITH PLANS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.*

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## P R E F A C E .

Few words are necessary in explanation of this book. The first suggestion was made by a well-known teacher of long experience who had felt the want of a continuous narrative, in a convenient form, of the simple story of the Persian War as told by Herodotus. Canon Rawlinson's translation was at my disposal for this purpose, and I have made it the groundwork of this book. The merits of that version are well known, and grow upon the reader, the more he studies it and compares it with the Greek text. But I have not hesitated to alter and revise it, in the hope of bringing the rendering a little nearer to the simplicity and brevity of Herodotus. The rest of my work has been that of selection and omission, in order to make the narrative of the war continuous. The notes are mostly those of Rawlinson, shortened. I have added a few obvious notes of my own, which are so unimportant as not to seem worthy of any special mark to distinguish them.

In the spelling of proper names (1) I have kept all the names of gods in their Greek shapes ; (2) I have not attempted the task, impossible under our present chaotic want of system, of being consistent in the transliteration of Greek names. I have endeavoured

to keep in the main to English spelling when the words are Anglicised, whilst otherwise using the familiar Latin or Greek spelling. Thus there will be found Aristotle and Thucydides : Pisistratus but Pheidippides (remembering Browning) : Samos, Cythnos, but *Æschylus*, Amathus : Egypt but *Ægina* : Atridæ but Basileides. I have in one place only used the English K for the Greek "Kappa" where it seemed necessary to explain the change of pronunciation from Masistius to Makistius (p. 180). For the inconsistency involved in thus treating Greek names, we can at least find support in the Authorised Translation of the Bible, with its Paul and Titus, its Timothy and Timotheus, its Mark and Marcus, its Urbane and Silvanus.

For the sake of readers who know no Greek, I have marked the quantities of many of the vowels of proper names—not, I hope, too often or too obtrusively. It is the only way to preserve such readers from blunders, which are at once ludicrous and irritating to those who know better.

C. C. T.

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## LIFE OF HERODOTUS.

THE facts known to us are very few. Herodotus was born in the colony of Halicarnassus in Caria, apparently B.C. 484. in B.C. 484. Though the city was of Dorian origin, inscriptions show us that the Ionian dialect in which Herodotus wrote was in use there. His father's name is said to have been Lyxes, and his mother's Dryo or Rheio: they were seemingly of considerable importance in the city: he had a brother called Theodorus, and, if we may trust Suidas, his uncle was an epic poet of some reputation, by name Panyasis. At some time after the death of Queen Artemisia, whose exploits in the Persian war, as a vassal of Xerxes, he relates with pride, her grandson Lygdāmis became tyrant of Halicarnassus, and put Panyasis to death. Herodotus thereupon emigrated to Samos, an island of which in his history he shows considerable knowledge. It is further stated, with reasonable probability, that he returned to his native city and took a prominent part in the dethronement of Lygdamis: but, dissatisfied with the rule of the oligarchy which seems to have established itself there, he again left Halicarnassus and withdrew to Attica, about B.C. 447. B.C. 447. Before this he had spent much time in extensive travelling, visiting most of the countries of which he speaks, and gaining information at first hand for his historical work, of which he had already completed considerable portions. He is said to have given public recitations of his history at Athens, and to have received a reward—according to the account, ten talents—by a decree of the Athenian assembly. It was during this

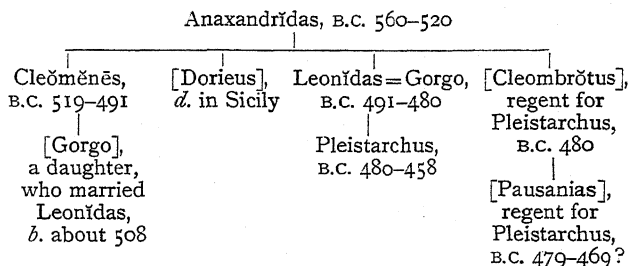
residence at Athens that he gained the friendship of the poet Sophocles, and in all probability attracted the admiring notice of the young Thucydides. In B.C. 444, with several other men of note, he accepted the invitation of Athens, as given by Pericles, to join in the colonisation of the new city of Thurii in Italy on the site of the ancient Sybaris, and received a grant of land there. At Thurii he seems to have remained for some time, with occasional visits to Athens, elaborating and expanding his work. The place and time of his death are alike uncertain; but there is no reason to think that he lived much after B.C. 425? From various indications, and especially from the abrupt termination of his book, it would seem that he died in the maturity of his powers and without any long preparation, before he could completely finish the work which he had in hand.



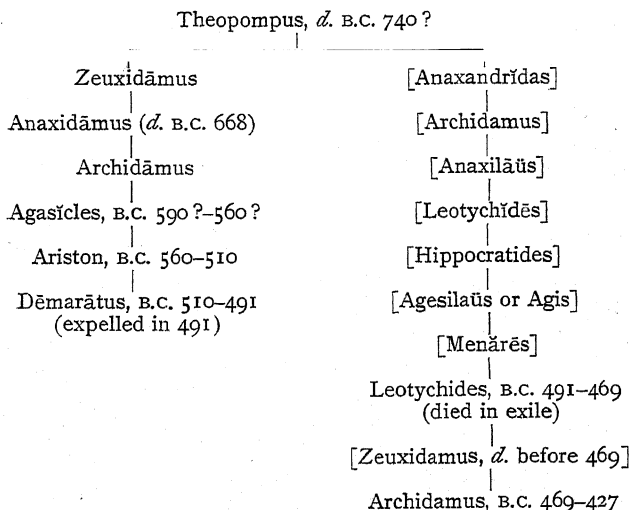
COIN OF SYRACUSE.

# KINGS OF SPARTA.

## 1. THE AGID LINE.



## 2. THE EURYPONTID LINE.



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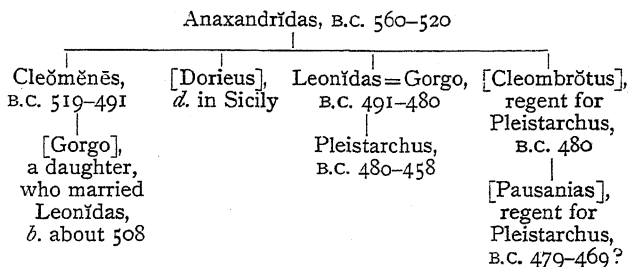
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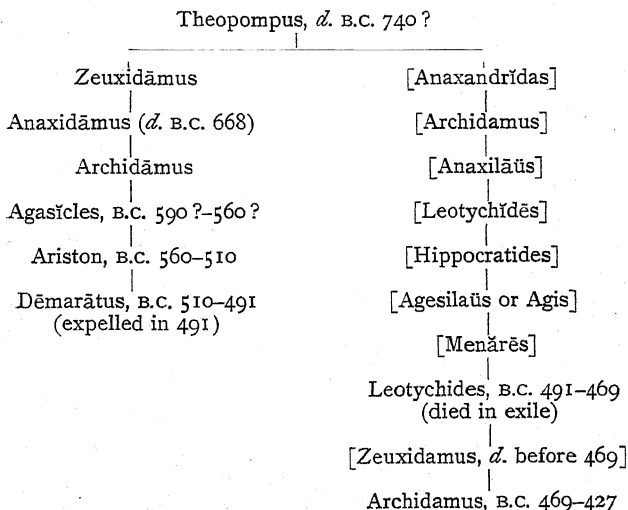
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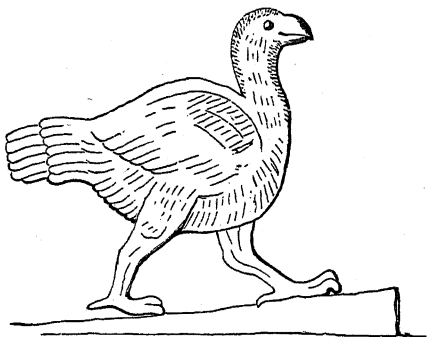
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# THE STORY OF THE PERSIAN WAR AS TOLD BY HERODOTUS.

## I.

### Introductory: Darius' First Knowledge of Greece, about B.C. 518.

Now Darius, king of Persia, was established on his throne at Susa, and after a time his wife Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, suffered from an abscess, and sent for one Dēmocēdēs, a Greek, a physician, a native of Crōtōn (Cortōna) in Italy, who had been brought into the king's country by a rebellious satrap of Darius. The satrap was put to death, by order of the king, but Democedes was still detained in Persia, although anxious to return to his home. When consulted by Atossa, he replied that he could cure the queen of her disease, if she would first promise with an oath that, if he healed her, she would grant him whatever request he made. On these terms Democedes applied his art, and soon cured the abscess; and when Atossa had heard his request, she spoke one night to Darius:—

“It seems to me strange, my lord, that, with the mighty power which is thine, thou sittest idle, and neither makest any conquest, nor advancest the power of the Persians. One who is so young, and so richly endowed with wealth, should perform some noble deed to prove to the Persians that it is a man who governs them. Another reason, too, should urge thee to attempt some enterprise. Not only is it right for thee to show the Persians that their ruler is a man, but for thy own peace thou shouldst waste their strength in wars, lest idleness breed revolt against thy authority. Now, too, whilst thou art young, thou mayest well do something; for as the body grows in strength, the mind too ripens, and as the body

ages, the mind's powers decay, till at last it becomes dulled to all."

So spoke Atossa, as Democedes had instructed her. Darius answered: "Dear wife, thou hast uttered the thoughts that fill my brain. I intend to construct a bridge which shall join our continent with the other, and so carry war into Scythia. Yet a brief space and all will be as thou desirest."

But Atossa said: "Look now, this war with Scythia were best reserved awhile—for the Scythians may be conquered at any time. Lead me thy host first, I pray thee, into Greece. I long to be served by some of those Lacedæmonian maids of whom I have heard so much. I want also Argive, and Athenian, and Corinthian women. There is now at thy court a man who can tell thee better than any one else in the world whatever thou wouldst know concerning Greece, who might serve thee right well as guide; Democedes, who performed the cure."

"Dear lady," Darius answered, "since it is thy wish that we try first the valour of the Greeks, it would be best, it seems, before marching against them, to send some Persians to spy out the land; they may go in company with the man thou dost mention, and when they have seen and learnt all, they can bring us back a full report. Then, with a more perfect knowledge of them, I will begin the war."

As soon as day broke Darius summoned to his presence fifteen Persians of note, and bade them take Democedes for their guide, and explore the sea-coasts of Greece. The men went down to Sidon in Phœnicia, where they fitted out at once two triremes and a trading vessel, which they loaded with all manner of precious merchandise; and, everything being now ready, they set sail for Greece. When they had sighted land, they kept along the shore and examined it, taking notes of all they saw; in this way they explored the greater portion of the country, and all the most famous regions, until at last they reached Tāras (Tarentum) in Italy. Here Democedes effected his escape to Croton (Cortona), according to his wish; nor could the Persians, though they sailed in pursuit, manage to retake him. Bereft of their guide they gave up hopes of exploring the rest of Greece, and set sail for Asia, which at last they reached.

These were the first Persians who ever came from Asia to Greece; and they were sent to spy out the land.

## II.

## The Unsuccessful Revolt of the Ionic Cities from Persia, and the Battle of Ladē, B.C. 502?—494.

AFTER this, Darius besieged and took Samos, which was the first city, Greek or barbarian, that he conquered.

It was, however, from Naxos and Miletus, a tributary state of Darius, that troubles began to gather about Ionia; and in this way they arose. Some rich men had been banished from Naxos by the people, and had fled to Miletus. Aristagoras, the nephew and son-in-law of Histæus, who was at Susa with Darius, happened to be in charge of Miletus at the time of their coming. For the power belonged to Histæus as tyrant, but he was at Susa when the Naxians came. Now these Naxians had in times past been friends of Histæus; so on their arrival at Miletus they begged Aristagoras to lend them such aid as he could, in hopes of recovering their country. Then Aristagoras, considering that, if the Naxians should be restored by his help, he would be lord of Naxos, put forward the friendship with Histæus to conceal his plans, and spoke as follows:—

“I cannot engage to furnish you with such a power as were needful to force you, against their will, upon the Naxians who hold the city; for I know they can bring into the field 8,000<sup>1</sup> spearmen, and have also a large number of ships of war. But I will do all that lies in my power to get you aid, and I think I can manage it in this way. Artaphernēs happens to be my friend. Now he is a son of Hystaspēs, and a brother of King Darius. All the sea-

<sup>1</sup> In the last century the whole population of the island was estimated at this amount. If Naxos could really at this time bring into the field an army of such a size, she must have been one of the most

powerful of the Greek states. Sparta is said to have been a “city of 8,000 men,” and Athens, in the Peloponnesian war, could send into the field no more than 13,000 heavy-armed.

coast of Asia is under him,<sup>1</sup> and he has a numerous army and numerous ships. I think I can prevail on him to do what we require."

When the Naxians heard this, they empowered Aristagoras to manage the matter for them as best he could, and told him to promise gifts and pay for the soldiers, which (they said) they would readily furnish, since they had great hope that, as soon as they saw them returned, their people would render them obedience, with the other islanders. For at that time not one of the Cýclādēs was subject to King Darius.

So Aristagoras went to Sardis and told Artaphernes that Naxos was an island of no great size, but a fair land and fertile, lying near Ionia, and containing much treasure and many slaves. "Make war then upon this land and reinstate the exiles; for, if thou wilt do this, I have rich gifts in store for thee; the cost of the armament, too, it is fair that we who are the authors of the war should pay; besides, thou wilt bring under the power of the king, not only Naxos, but the other islands which depend on it, as Parōs, Andrōs, and the rest of the Cyclades. When thou hast gained these, thou mayest easily go on against Eubœa, which is a large and wealthy island not less in size than Cyprus,<sup>2</sup> and very easy to conquer. A hundred ships are enough to subdue the whole." The other answered: "Thine is indeed a plan which may bring much advantage to the king's house; and thy advice is good in all points except the number of the ships. Instead of 100, 200 shall be at thy disposal when spring comes. But the king must first approve himself."

When Aristagoras heard this he was greatly rejoiced, and went home in good heart to Miletus. After Artaphernes had sent a messenger to Susa to lay the plans of Aristagoras before the king, and received his approval of the scheme, he made ready a fleet of 200 triremes and a vast army of Persians and their confederates. The command of these he gave to a Persian named Mēgabātēs, who belonged to the royal house, being nephew both to himself and to King Darius, and sent forward the armament to Aristagoras.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently an exaggeration. It suits the purpose of Aristagoras to overrate the power of his friend.

the size of Eubœa (*Negropont*). The ancients, however, in general, regarded them as nearly equal.

<sup>2</sup> Cyprus is really more than twice

Megabates set sail, and, touching at Miletus, took Aristagoras on board with the Ionian troops and the Naxians; after this he steered, as he gave out, for the Hellespont; but when he reached Chios, he brought the fleet to anchor off Caucāsa, intending to wait there for a north wind, and then sail straight to Naxos. The Naxians, however, were not to perish yet. For as Megabates went his rounds to visit the ships, he found a Myndian<sup>1</sup> vessel upon which there was no watch set. Full of anger he bade his guards find the captain, one Scylax, and thrusting him through one of the holes in the ship's side<sup>2</sup> to fasten him there in such a way that his head might show outside the vessel, while his body remained within. When Scylax was thus fastened, one went and told Aristagoras that Megabates had bound his friend and was treating him shamefully. So he came and asked Megabates to release the man; but the Persian refused him, whereupon Aristagoras went himself and set Scylax free. When Megabates heard this he was still more angry than before, and spoke hotly to Aristagoras. Then the latter said:—

“What hast thou to do with this? Wast thou not sent here by Artaphernes to obey me, and to sail wherever I ordered? Why dost thou meddle so?”

The other, greatly angered at such language, waited till night, and then despatched a boat to Naxos, to warn the Naxians of the coming danger.

Now the Naxians up to this time had no suspicion that the armament was directed against them; as soon, therefore, as the message reached them, they brought within their walls all that they had in the open field, and made themselves ready for a siege, by provisioning their town with food and drink. Thus was Naxos placed in a posture of defence; and when the Persians crossed the sea from Chios, they found the Naxians fully prepared for them. However, they besieged the place for four months. When at length all the stores which they had brought with them were exhausted, and Aristagoras had spent upon the siege no small sum from his private means, and more was still needed to ensure success, the Persians gave up the attempt, and first build-

<sup>1</sup> Myndus was a Dorian city in Caria, a few miles north of Halicarnassus.

<sup>2</sup> The “holes in the side” of a Greek vessel were, of course, for the oars.

ing certain forts, wherein they left the banished Naxians, withdrew to the mainland, having utterly failed.

Now Aristagoras found himself quite unable to make good his promise to Artaphernes; nay, he was hard pressed to meet the claims to which he was liable for the pay of the troops; and at the same time he was greatly afraid that, owing to the failure of the expedition and his own quarrel with Megabates, he might be ousted from the government of Miletus. These many alarms had already caused him to contemplate rebellion, when the man with the marked head came from Susa, bringing him instructions on the part of Histæus to revolt from the king. For when Histæus was anxious to give Aristagoras orders to revolt, he could find but one safe way, as the roads were guarded, of making his wishes known: this was to take the trustiest of his slaves, shave all the hair from off his head and then prick letters upon the skin, and wait till the hair grew again. This he did; and as soon as the hair was grown, he despatched the man to Miletus, giving him no other message than this: "When thou art come to Miletus, bid Aristagoras shave thy head and look." Now the marks on the head were a command to revolt. All this Histæus did because it was irksome to be kept at Susa, and because he had strong hopes that, if troubles broke out, he would be sent to the coast to quell them: whereas, if Miletus made no movement, he saw no chance of ever returning.

Accordingly, Aristagoras held a council of his trusty friends, and laid the business before them, telling them both what he had purposed himself, and what message had been sent him by Histæus. At this council all his friends were of the same way of thinking, and recommended revolt, except only Hęcatæus the historian. He first advised them by all means to avoid engaging in war with the king of the Persians, whose might he set forth, and whose subject nations he enumerated. As, however, he could not induce them to listen, he next advised that they should do all that lay in their power to make themselves masters of the sea. "There was only one way," he said, "as far as he could see, of succeeding in this. Miletus was, he knew, a weak state—but if the treasures in the temple at Branchidæ,<sup>1</sup> which Croesus the Lydian gave

<sup>1</sup> The Temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, twelve miles nearly due south

to it,<sup>1</sup> were seized, he had strong hopes that the mastery of the sea might be thereby gained; at least, it would give them money to begin the war, and would save the treasures from falling into the hands of the enemy." The assembly, however, rejected the counsel of Hecataeus, while, nevertheless, they resolved on a revolt. One of their number, it was agreed, should sail to Myus,<sup>2</sup> where the fleet had been lying since its return from Naxos, and endeavour to seize the captains who had gone there with the vessels.

Iatrægoras accordingly was despatched on this errand, and he seized by treachery Oliatus of Mylassa<sup>3</sup> and one Histæus<sup>4</sup>—afterwards Coës also, and Aristagoras of Cymæ and many others. Thus Aristagoras openly revolted from Darius; and now he set to work to scheme against him in every way. First, to induce the Milesians to join heartily in the revolt, he gave out that he laid down his own lordship as tyrant over Miletus, and established a commonwealth: after which, he did the same throughout all Ionia; for from some of the cities he drove out their tyrants, and to others, whose support he hoped to gain, he delivered theirs, thus giving up all the men whom he had seized, each to the city to which he belonged.

Now the Mytileneans no sooner had Coës in their power, than they led him out from the city and stoned him; the Cymæans, on the other hand, allowed their tyrant to go free, as did most of the others. Thus this form of government ceased throughout the cities. After Aristagoras had in this way put down the tyrants, and bidden the cities choose Generals<sup>5</sup> in their place, he sailed

from Miletus, still remains. It lies near the shore, about two miles inland. It is a magnificent ruin of Ionic architecture. It was probably of great antiquity, some of its accessories having a peculiarly archaic character. A straight road led from the sea to the temple, "bordered on either side with statues on chairs, of a single block of stone, with the feet close together and the hands on the knees—an exact imitation of the avenues of the temples of Egypt" (Leake's *Asia Minor*, p. 239, note). On one of these statues, some of which are now in the British Museum, an inscription was found by Sir

W. Gell, also very archaic in type.

<sup>1</sup> About B.C. 560.

<sup>2</sup> Myus was one of the cities of Ionia. It lay on the Mæander, not far from Miletus.

<sup>3</sup> Mylasa or Mylassa was an inland town of Caria.

<sup>4</sup> It was this Histæus who afterwards accompanied the expedition of Xerxes.

<sup>5</sup> This is the literal rendering of the Greek word; but, no doubt the persons so called were civil magistrates no less than military commanders. They had limited powers, and were elected, most probably, for a limited period.



away himself on board a trireme to Lacedæmon; for there was great need of obtaining the aid of some powerful ally.

Now Cleomēnēs was king when Aristagoras reached Sparta. At their interview, Aristagoras, according to the Lacedæmonian story, produced a bronze tablet, on which the whole circuit of the earth was engraved, with all its seas and rivers.<sup>1</sup> A conversation began; and Aristagoras addressed the Spartan king: "Think it not strange, King Cleomenes, that I have shown such eagerness to visit thee. It is a bitter shame indeed, and to none so much as us, that the sons of the Ionians should have lost their freedom, and come to be the slaves of others; yet it comes home to you Spartans, also, beyond the rest of the Greeks, inasmuch as the pre-eminence over all Greece belongs to you. We beseech you, therefore, by the gods whom all Greeks worship, to deliver the Ionians, your own kinsmen, from slavery. Truly the task is easy; for the barbarians are an unwarlike people; and you are the best and bravest warriors in the world. Their mode of fighting is this: they use bows and arrows and a short spear; they wear trousers in the field, and cover their heads with turbans. So easy are they to vanquish! Know too that the dwellers in these parts have more good things than all the rest of the world together—gold, and silver, and brass, and embroidered garments, beasts of burden, and slaves—all which, if you only wish it, you may soon have for your own. The nations border on one another, in the order which I will now explain. Next to these Ionians" (here he pointed with his finger to the map of the world which was engraved upon the tablet that he brought) "these Lydians dwell: their soil is fertile, and few people are so rich in silver. Next to them come these Phrygians, who have more flocks and herds than any race I know, and more plentiful harvests. On them border the Cappadocians, whom we Greeks know as Syrians: they are neighbours to the Cilicians, who extend all the way to the sea, where Cyprus lies—this island here. The Cilicians pay the king a yearly tribute of five hundred talents. Next to them come the Armenians, who live here—they too have many flocks and herds. After them

<sup>1</sup> Maps, according to Strabo and others (Strab. i. p. 10), were invented about this time by Anaximander. The map of Aristagoras was probably the first which had been seen in European Greece.

the Matiēni, inhabiting this country; then Cissia, this province, where you see the river Choaspēs marked, and the town Susa upon its banks, where the Great King holds his court, and where the treasures are in which his wealth is stored. Once masters of this city, you may be bold to vie with Zeus himself for riches. In the wars which ye wage with your rivals of Messenia, with them of Argos and of Arcadia, about paltry boundaries and strips of land none so good, ye contend with those who have no gold, nor silver even, which often give men heart to fight and die. Must ye wage such wars, and when ye might so easily be lords of Asia, will ye decide against it?" Thus spoke Aristagoras; and Cleomenes replied, "Milesian stranger, three days hence I will give thee an answer."

When the day appointed for the answer came, and the two met once more, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras, "How many days' journey is it from the sea of the Ionians to the king's court?" Hereupon Aristagoras, who had managed the rest so cleverly, and succeeded in deceiving the king, tripped in his speech and blundered; for instead of concealing the truth, as he ought to have done if he wished to induce the Spartans to cross into Asia, he said plainly that it was a journey of three months. Cleomenes caught at the words, and, preventing Aristagoras from finishing what he had begun to say about the road, addressed him thus: "Milesian stranger, quit Sparta before sunset. This is no good proposal that thou makest to the Lacedæmonians, to conduct them a distance of three months' journey from the sea." When he had thus spoken, Cleomenes went to his home.

But Aristagoras took an olive-bough in his hand, and hastened to the king's house, where he was admitted because of his suppliant's guise. Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes, and his only child, a girl of about eight or nine, happened to be there, standing by her father's side. Aristagoras, seeing her, requested Cleomenes to send her out of the room before he began to speak; but Cleomenes told him to say on, and not mind the child. So Aristagoras began with a promise of ten talents<sup>1</sup> if the king would grant him his request, and, when Cleomenes shook his head, continued to raise his offer till it reached fifty talents; whereupon the child spoke:—

<sup>1</sup> An Attic talent was about £243.

"Father," she said, "get up and go, or the stranger will corrupt thee." Then Cleomenes, pleased at the warning of his child, went into another room. Aristagoras quitted Sparta for good, being able to say no more.

Aristagoras next hastened to Athens, which had got rid of its tyrants. The Athenians were already in bad odour with the Persians when, dismissed from Sparta, he arrived at Athens; he knew that, after Sparta, Athens was the most powerful of the Greek states. Accordingly he appeared before the people, and, as at Sparta, spoke to them of the good things which there were in Asia, and of the Persian mode of fighting,—how they used neither shield nor spear, and were easy to conquer. All this he urged, and reminded them also that Miletus was a colony from Athens, and therefore ought to receive their succour, since they were so powerful—and in the earnestness of his entreaties he cared little what he promised—till, at the last, he prevailed and won them over. It seems indeed to be easier to deceive a multitude than one man—for though Aristagoras failed to impose on Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, he succeeded with the Athenians, who were 30,000.<sup>1</sup> Won by his persuasions, they voted that twenty ships should be sent to the aid of the Ionians, under the command of Mēlanthius, one of the citizens, a man of mark in every way. These ships were the beginning of mischief both to Greeks and to barbarians. Aristagoras sailed away in advance, and reached Miletus.

The Athenians now arrived with a fleet of twenty sail, and brought also in their company five triremes of Erētria;<sup>2</sup> which had joined the expedition, not so much

<sup>1</sup> It has been generally supposed that this number is an exaggeration. Certainly in later times the actual number seems scarcely ever to have much exceeded *twenty* thousand. It was 19,000 in the year B.C. 444 (Plutarch, *Pericl.* c. 37), when Psammetichus sent the Athenians a present of corn, and 21,000 in B.C. 317, when Demetrius Phalerēus made his census. Still the estimate of Herodotus may be true for the period to which he refers. Cleisthēnēs, it must be remembered, had recently admitted all the foreign inhabitants and enfranchised slaves of the same rank into

the number of citizens; and these in after times usually amounted to 10,000. No such general enfranchisement ever took place afterwards; and it is quite possible that the number of the citizens may have fallen, between B.C. 500 and B.C. 444, from thirty to twenty thousand. The vast number of colonists sent out from Athens during this interval would fully account for such a diminution.

<sup>2</sup> Eretria lay upon the coast of Eubœa, twelve or thirteen miles below Chalcis.

out of friendliness towards Athens, as to pay a debt which they owed to the people of Miletus. Aristagoras, on their arrival, assembled the rest of his allies, and proceeded to attack Sardis; he did not, however, lead the army in person, but appointed to the command his own brother Charopinus, and Hermophantus, one of the citizens, while he remained behind in Miletus himself.

The Ionians sailed with this fleet to Ephesus, and, leaving their ships at Coressus<sup>1</sup> in the Ephesian territory, took guides from the city, and went up the country, with a great host. They marched along the course of the river Caÿster, and, crossing over the ridge of Tmōlus, came down upon Sardis and took it, no man opposing them;—the whole city fell into their hands, except only the citadel; this Artaphernes defended in person, having with him no contemptible force. Though, however, they took the city, they did not succeed in plundering it; for, as the houses in Sardis were mostly built of reeds, and even the few which were of brick had a reed thatching for their roof, one of them was no sooner fired by a soldier than the flames ran speedily from house to house, and spread over the whole place. As the fire raged, the Lydians, and such Persians as were in the city, enclosed on every side by the flames which had seized all the outskirts of the town, and finding themselves unable to get out, came in crowds into the market-place, and collected on the banks of the Pactōlus. This stream, which comes down from Mount Tmolus, and brings the Sardians a quantity of gold-dust, runs directly through the market-place of Sardis, and joins the Hermus, before that river reaches the sea.<sup>2</sup> So the Lydians and Persians, brought together in this way in the market-place and about the Pactolus, were forced to stand on their defence; and when the Ionians saw the enemy in part resisting, in part pouring towards them in dense crowds, they took fright, and drawing off to the ridge called Tmolus, when night came, went back to their ships.

Sardis, then, was burnt, and, among other buildings, a

<sup>1</sup> The Coressus here spoken of must have been a *town* upon the sea-coast. It lay probably at the base of the *mountain* of the same name, somewhat south of Panormus, the port of Ephesus.

<sup>2</sup> Two small streams descend

from Tmolus, one on each side of the ruins of Sardis: "the western, which comes down the broader valley, and passes by the Ionic temple of Cÿbēlē, has generally been considered as the gold-bearing Pactolus."

temple of the native goddess Cŷbĕlē was destroyed ; this was the reason afterwards alleged by the Persians for setting on fire the temples of the Greeks. As soon as what had happened was known, all the Persians who were stationed on this side the Hălŷs drew together, and brought help to the Lydians. Finding however, when they arrived, that the Ionians had already withdrawn from Sardis, they set off, and, following close upon their track, came up with them at Ephesus. The Ionians drew out against them in battle array ; and a fight ensued, in which the Greeks had very much the worse. Many were slain by the Persians : among other men of note, they killed the captain of the Eretrians, one Eualcĭdas, a man who had gained crowns at the games, and received much praise from Simōnĭdēs the Cean. Such as made their escape from the battle dispersed among the cities.

So ended this encounter. Afterwards, the Athenians quite forsook the Ionians, and, though Aristagoras besought them much by his ambassadors, refused to give him further help. Still the Ionians, notwithstanding this desertion, continued unceasingly their preparations to carry on the war against the Persian king, which their late conduct towards him had rendered unavoidable. Sailing into the Hellespont, they brought Byzantium (Constantinople), and all the other cities in that quarter, under their sway. Again, quitting the Hellespont they went to Caria, and won the greater part of the Carians to their side ; while Caunus, which had formerly refused to join with them, after the burning of Sardis, came over likewise. All the Cyprians too, excepting those of Amăthus, of their own will espoused the Ionian cause.

Meanwhile King Darius received tidings of the taking and burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians ; and at the same time he learnt that the author of the league, the man by whom the whole matter had been planned, was Aristagoras of Miletus. It is said that he no sooner understood what had happened, than, laying aside all thought of the Ionians, who would, he was sure, pay dear for their rebellion, he asked, "Who are the Athenians?" and being informed called for his bow, and placing an arrow on the string shot upwards into the sky, saying, as he let fly the shaft, "Grant me, Zeus, to revenge myself on the Athenians!" After this speech, he bade one of his

servants every day, when dinner was spread, three times repeat these words to him, "Master, remember the Athenians." Then he summoned into his presence Histæus of Miletus, whom he had kept at his court for so long a time; and addressed him thus: "I am told, Histæus, that thy deputy to whom thou hast given Miletus in charge, has raised a rebellion against me. He has brought men from the other continent to contend with me, and, prevailing on the Ionians—whose conduct I shall know how to recompense—to join with this force, he has robbed me of Sardis! Is this as it should be, thinkest thou? Or can it have been done without thy knowledge and advice? Beware lest it be found hereafter that the blame of these acts is thine." Histæus answered: "What words are these, sire, that thou hast uttered? I advise aught from which unpleasantness of any kind, little or great, should come to thee! What could I gain by doing so? Have I not all that thou hast, and am I not thought worthy to share all thy counsels? If my deputy has indeed done as thou sayest, be sure he has done it all of himself. For my part, I do not think it can really be that the Milesians and my deputy are raising a rebellion against thee. But if they have indeed done aught to hurt thee, and the tidings are true which have come to thee, judge thou how ill-advised thou wast to remove me from the coast. The Ionians, it seems, have waited till I was out of sight, and then sought to execute that which they long desired; whereas, if I had been there, no city would have stirred. Suffer me then to hasten at my best speed to Ionia, that I may place matters there upon their former footing, and deliver up to thee the deputy of Miletus, who has caused the troubles. Having managed this to thy heart's content, I swear by the gods of thy royal house, I will not put off the clothes in which I reach Ionia, till I have made Sardinia, the largest island in the world,<sup>1</sup> thy tributary."

Histæus spoke thus, wishing to deceive the king; and Darius, persuaded by his words, let him go; only bidding him be sure to do as he had promised, and afterwards come back to Susa.

Aristagoras was in truth a man of but little courage, and although it was he who had caused the disturbance

<sup>1</sup> Sardinia, it appears, is really a little larger than Sicily, and thus tus.

in Ionia, and made so great a commotion, yet now, in the hour of danger, he began to look about for means of escape. Being convinced that it was in vain to endeavour to overcome King Darius, he called his brothers-in-arms together and laid a plan before them :—"It would be well," he said, "to have some place of refuge, if they were driven out of Miletus. Should he head a colony to Sardinia,<sup>1</sup> or should he sail to Myrcinus, a city of the Edonians,<sup>2</sup> which Histæus had received as a gift from King Darius, and had begun to fortify?" To this question, Hecataeus the historian made answer that, in his judgment, neither place was suitable. "Aristagoras should build a fort," he said, "in the island of Lërös,<sup>3</sup> and, if driven from Miletus, should go there and bide his time; from Leros attacks might readily be made, and he might re-establish himself in Miletus." Aristagoras, however, was bent on retiring to Myrcinus. Accordingly, he put the government of Miletus into the hands of one of the chief citizens, named Pythägoras, and, taking with him all who liked to go, sailed to Thrace, and there made himself master of Myrcinus. Thence he proceeded to attack the Thracians; but here he was cut off with his whole army while besieging a city, whose defenders were anxious to accept terms of surrender.

Meanwhile, Histæus, who had been allowed by Darius to leave Susa, came down to Sardis. On his arrival, when asked by Artaphernes what he thought was the reason that the Ionians had rebelled, he answered that he could not conceive, and it had astonished him much, pretending to be quite unconscious of the whole business. Artaphernes, however, who perceived that he was dealing dishonestly, and who had in fact full knowledge of the history of the outbreak, said to him, "I will tell thee how the case stands, Histæus: this shoe is of thy stitching; Aristagoras has but put it on." Histæus, alarmed at the knowledge which Artaphernes displayed, as soon as night fell, fled to the coast. Thus he forfeited his word to Darius;

<sup>1</sup> Sardinia seems to have been almost unchanged. It is the modern viewed by the Greeks of this time as a sort of El Dorado, where they could not fail of prospering.

<sup>2</sup> Myrcinus was north-west of Chalcidice, a few miles from the Strymon and the sites of Amphipolis.

<sup>3</sup> Leros retains its ancient name

Lero or Lerro, a small island between Calimna (*Kalimno*) and Patmos (*Patmo*). It lies about thirty miles from Miletus to the south-west, and is not quite twenty from the nearest point of the Asiatic coast.

for though he had pledged himself to bring Sardinia, the largest island in the world, under the Persian yoke, in reality he sought to obtain the direction of the war against the king. Crossing to Chios, he was there imprisoned by the inhabitants, who accused him of intending mischief against them in the interest of Darius. However, when the whole truth was laid before them, and they found that Histiaeus was in reality a foe to the king, they set him free again. After this the Ionians inquired of him for what reason he had so strongly urged Aristagoras to revolt from the king, thereby doing their nation so ill a service. In reply, he took good care not to disclose the cause, but told them that King Darius had intended to remove the Phœnicians from their own country and place them in Ionia, while he planted the Ionians in Phœnicia, and that for this reason he sent Aristagoras the order. Now it was not true that the king had entertained any such intention, but Histiaeus tried to alarm the Ionians.

After this, Histiaeus, by means of one Hermippus, a native of Atarnēus,<sup>1</sup> sent letters to many of the Persians in Sardis, who had before held some discourse with him concerning a revolt. Hermippus, however, instead of conveying them to the persons to whom they were addressed, delivered them into the hands of Artaphernes; who seeing all commanded Hermippus to deliver the letters according to their addresses, and then bring him back the answers which were sent to Histiaeus. The traitors being in this way discovered, Artaphernes put a number of Persians to death, and caused a commotion in Sardis. As for Histiaeus, when his hopes in this matter were disappointed, he persuaded the Chians to carry him back to Miletus; but the Milesians were too well pleased at having got rid of Aristagoras to be anxious to receive another tyrant into their country; besides, they had now tasted liberty. They therefore opposed his return; and when he endeavoured to force an entrance during the night, one of the inhabitants wounded him in the thigh. Thus rejected from his country, he went back to Chios; whence, after failing in an attempt to induce the Chians to give him ships, he crossed to Mytilēnē, where he succeeded in obtaining vessels from the Lesbians. They fitted

<sup>1</sup> Atarneus, in Herodotus, is not Lesbos, between the range of Canē a city, but a tract. It lies opposite and the sea.



out a squadron of eight triremes, and sailed with him to the Hellespont, where they took up their station, and proceeded to seize all the vessels which passed out from the Euxine, unless the crews declared themselves ready to obey his orders.

While Histiaëus and the Mytileneans were thus employed, • Miletus was expecting an attack from a large armament, which comprised both a fleet and a land force. The Persian captains had drawn their several detachments together, and formed them into a single army; and had resolved to pass over all the other cities, which they regarded as of less account, and march straight on Miletus. Of the naval states, Phoenicia showed the greatest zeal; but the fleet was composed besides of the Cyprians, the Cilicians, and the Egyptians.

While the Persians were thus making preparations against Miletus and Ionia, the Ionians, informed of their intent, sent their deputies to the Paniōnium, and held a council upon the position of affairs. Here it was determined that no land force should be collected to oppose the Persians, but that the Milesians should be left to defend their walls as they could; at the same time they agreed that the whole naval force of the states, not excepting a single ship, should be equipped, and should muster at Ladē,<sup>1</sup> a small island off Miletus—to give battle on behalf of the place.

Presently the Ionians began to assemble in their ships, and with them came the Æolians of Lesbos; they marshalled their line in this way: the wing towards the east was formed of the Milesians themselves, who furnished 80 ships; next to them came the Prienians with 12, and the Myusians with 3; after the Myusians were stationed the Teians, whose ships were 17; then the Chians, who sent 100. The men of Erythræ and Phocæa followed, the former with 8, the latter with 3 ships; beyond the Phocæans were the Lesbians, sending 70; last of all came the Samians, forming the western wing, with 60 vessels. The fleet amounted in all to 353 triremes.

The barbarians numbered 600 vessels. These assembled off the coast of Miletus, while the land army collected upon the shore; but when the leaders learned the strength

<sup>1</sup> Ladē is now a hillock in the plain of the Mæander. The deposits from the river have extended the coast to a distance of several miles west of Miletus. The whole scene of the sea-fight is now land.

of the Ionian fleet, they began to fear that they might fail to defeat it, in which case, not having the mastery at sea, they would be unable to reduce Miletus, and might receive rough treatment at Darius' hands. So they resolved on the following course:—The Persians called together the Ionian tyrants, who had fled to the Medes for refuge when Aristagoras deposed them from their governments, and were now in camp, having joined in the expedition against Miletus, and addressed them thus: "Men of Ionia, now is the fit time to show your zeal for the king's house. Use your best efforts, every one of you, to detach your fellow-countrymen from the main body. Promise that, if they submit, no harm shall happen to them on account of their rebellion; their temples shall not be burnt, nor any of their private buildings; they shall not be treated with greater harshness than before the outbreak. But if they refuse to yield, and determine to try the chance of battle, threaten them with the fate which shall assuredly overtake them. Tell them, when they are vanquished in fight, they shall be enslaved; their boys shall be maimed, their maidens transported to Bactra;<sup>1</sup> while their country shall be delivered into the hands of foreigners." The Ionian tyrants sent accordingly by night to their respective citizens, and reported the words of the Persians; but the people were all staunch, and refused to betray their countrymen, those of each state thinking that they alone had had overtures made to them.

Afterwards, while the Ionian fleet was still assembled at Ladē, councils were held, and speeches made by various persons—among the rest by Dionysius, the Phocæan captain, who thus expressed himself: "Our affairs hang on the razor's edge, men of Ionia, for freedom or for slavery; the slavery, too, of men who have shown themselves runaways. You have now to choose whether you will endure hardships, and so for the present lead a life of toil, but thereby gain power to overcome your enemies and establish your own freedom; or whether you will persist in this sloth and disorder, in which case I see no hope of your escaping the king's vengeance for rebellion. I beseech you, be persuaded, and trust to my guidance. Then, if the gods only hold the balance fairly between us, I undertake that our foes will either decline a battle, or, if they fight,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the remote and savage pose into the threat, to terrify the Bactra was introduced of set purpose by the Greeks.

suffer complete discomfiture." These words prevailed with the Ionians, and they committed themselves at once to Dionysius; whereupon he proceeded every day to make the ships move in column, and the rowers ply their oars, and exercise themselves in breaking the line;<sup>1</sup> while the marines were held under arms, and the vessels kept, till evening fell, upon their anchors,<sup>2</sup> so that the men had nothing but toil from morning to night. Seven days did the Ionians continue obedient, and do whatever he bade them; but on the eighth day, worn out by the hard work and the heat of the sun, and quite unaccustomed to such fatigues, they began to say to one another: "What god have we offended to bring upon ourselves such punishment as this? Fools and distracted that we were, to put ourselves into the hands of this Phocæan braggart, who does but supply three ships to the fleet! Now that he has us, he plagues us desperately; many of us have fallen sick already—many more expect to follow. We had better suffer anything instead of these hardships; even the slavery with which we are threatened, however harsh, can be no worse than our present thralldom. Come, let us refuse obedience." So saying, they forthwith ceased to obey his orders, and pitched their tents, as if they had been soldiers, upon the island, where they reposed under the shade all day, and refused to go aboard the ships and train.

Now when the Samian captains saw what was taking place, they were more inclined than before to accept the terms which *Æacēs* had been authorised by the Persians to offer them, if they would desert. For they saw that all was disorder among the Ionians, and they felt that it was hopeless to contend with the power of the king; since, if they defeated the fleet which had been sent against them, they knew that another would come five times as great. So they took advantage of the occasion, and as soon as they saw the Ionians refuse to work, hastened gladly to provide for the safety of their temples and properties.

The Phœnicians soon afterwards sailed to the attack;

<sup>1</sup> This was the most important naval manœuvre with which the Greeks were acquainted. It is supposed to have had two objects; one, the breaking of the oars of the two vessels between which the ship using the manœuvre passed, and the other,

the cutting off of a portion of the enemy's fleet from the rest. It is not quite certain, however, that it had this latter object.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of being drawn up on shore, as was the usual practice.

and the Ionians put themselves in line, and went out to meet them. When they had now drawn near one another, and joined battle, which of the Ionians fought like brave men and which like cowards, I cannot declare with certainty, for charges are brought on all sides; but the tale goes that the Samians, according to the agreement which they had made with *Æaces*, hoisted sail, and quitting their post bore away for Samos, except eleven ships, whose captains gave no heed to the orders of the commanders, but remained and took part in the battle. The State of Samos, in consideration of this action, granted to these men, as an acknowledgment of their bravery, the honour of having their names, and the names of their fathers, inscribed upon a pillar, which still stands in the market-place.<sup>1</sup> The Lesbians also, when they saw the Samians, who were drawn up next them, take to flight, did the same themselves; and the example, once set, was followed by the greater number of the Ionians. Of those who remained and fought, none were so rudely handled as the Chians, who displayed prodigies of valour, and disdained to play the part of cowards. They sent to the united fleet, as I said above,<sup>2</sup> one hundred ships, having each of them forty armed citizens, and those picked men, on board; and when they saw the greater portion of the allies betraying the cause, they scorned to imitate the base conduct of these traitors, although they were left almost alone and unsupported, a very few friends continuing to stand by them, and went on with the fight; they often cut the line of the enemy, until at last, after they had taken very many of their adversaries' ships, they ended by losing more than half their own. Hereupon, with the remainder of their vessels, the Chians fled to their own country. Such of their ships as were damaged and disabled were pursued by the enemy, and made straight for *Mÿcālê*,<sup>3</sup> where the crews ran them ashore, and abandoning them began their march along the continent. Chancing in their way upon the territory of Ephesus, they tried to cross it; but here a dire misfortune befell them. It was

<sup>1</sup> No doubt Herodotus had seen this pillar. His descriptions of Samos are throughout those of an eye-witness.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Mycale was a mountainous head-

land which runs out from the coast in the direction of Samos, separating the bay which receives the waters of the *Mæander* from that into which the *Caÿster* flows.

night, and the Ephesian women chanced to be engaged in celebrating the Thesmōphōria—the previous calamity of the Chians had not been heard of<sup>1</sup>—and when the Ephesians saw their country invaded by an armed band, they made no question of the new-comers being robbers who purposed to carry off their women; accordingly they marched against them in full force, and slew them all.

When Dionysius, the Phocæan, perceived that all was lost, after first capturing three ships from the enemy, he took to flight himself. He would not, however, return to Phocæa, which he well knew must fall again, like the rest of Ionia, under the Persian yoke; but straightway, as he was, he set sail for Phœnicia, and there sank a number of merchantmen, and gained great booty; after which he directed his course to Sicily, where he established himself as a pirate,<sup>2</sup> and plundered the Carthaginians and Etruscans, but did no harm to the Greeks.

When the Persians had vanquished the Ionians in the sea-fight, they besieged Miletus both by land and sea, driving mines under the walls, and making use of every known device, until at length they took both the citadel and the town, six years from the time of the revolt under Aristagoras (B.C. 501?). After killing most of the men, they made the women and children slaves; and the sanctuary at Didyma<sup>3</sup> was plundered and burnt. Those of the Milesians whose lives were spared were carried prisoners to Susa, but received no ill-treatment at the hands of King Darius, and were established by him in Ampê, a city on the shores of the Erythræan sea. Miletus itself and the plain about the city were kept by the Persians for themselves, while the hill-country was assigned to the Carians of Pēdāsus. The Athenians showed themselves beyond measure afflicted at

<sup>1</sup> The Thesmophoria was a festival in honour of Demeter Thesmophorus (i.e. the lawgiver), in which women only participated, and which was celebrated in various parts of Greece with similar rites, but not everywhere at the same time of the year. At Athens the festival took place in autumn, in the month Pyanepsion (October); but elsewhere it seems to have been generally celebrated in the summer. It lasted for some days.

<sup>2</sup> The honourable nature of this employment in the eyes of the Greeks of early times is attested by Thucydides (i. 5). It was a refinement of delicacy very unusual among such pirates to make any difference between friend and foe.

<sup>3</sup> Didyma was the name of the place called also Branchidæ, in the territory of Miletus, where the famous temple of Apollo stood. See p. 6.

the fall of Miletus, in many ways expressing their sympathy, and especially by their treatment of Phrynichus. For when this poet brought out upon the stage his drama of the Fall of Miletus, the whole theatre burst into tears; and the people sentenced him to pay a fine of 1,000 drachmas for recalling to them their own misfortunes. They likewise made a law that no one should ever exhibit that piece again.

In Samos the people of the richer sort were much displeased with the doings of the generals, and the dealings they had had with the Medes; they therefore held a council, very shortly after the sea-fight, and resolved that they would not remain to become the slaves of Æaces and the Persians, but before the tyrant set foot in their country would sail away and found a colony. Now it happened that about this time the men of Zancle<sup>1</sup> in Sicily had sent ambassadors to the Ionians, and invited them to Calē-Actē, where they wished an Ionian city to be founded. This place, Calē-Actē (or the Fair Strand), is in the country of the Sicels, and is situated in the part of Sicily which looks towards Etruria. The offer thus made to all the Ionians was accepted only by the Samians, and by such of the Milesians as had contrived to escape. At Samos itself the Phœnicians, after the fight for Miletus was over, re-established Æaces upon his throne. This they did by the command of the Persians, who looked on Æaces as one who had rendered them a high service, and deserved well at their hands. They also spared the Samians, on account of the desertion of their vessels, and did not burn either their city or their temples, as they did those of the other rebels. Immediately after the fall of Miletus the Persians recovered Caria, bringing some of the cities over by force, while others submitted of their own accord.

Meanwhile tidings of what had befallen Miletus reached Histæus, who was still at Byzantium (Constantinople), employed in intercepting the Ionian merchantmen as they issued from the Euxine. Histæus had no sooner heard the news than he gave the Hellespont in charge to Bisaltēs, a native of Abȳdos, and set sail himself for Chios, at the head of his Lesbians. One of the Chian garrisons which opposed him he engaged at a place called "The Hollows," in Chian territory, and of these he slaughtered a large number; afterwards, by the help of his Lesbians,

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Messina, now Messina.

he reduced all the rest of the Chians, who were weakened by their losses in the sea-fight; Polichnē, a city of Chios, served him as headquarters. Histæus next led a numerous army, composed of Ionians and Æolians, against Thasos, and had laid siege to the place, when news arrived that the Phœnicians were about to quit Miletus and attack the other cities of Ionia. On hearing this, Histæus raised the siege of Thasos, and hastened to Lesbos with all his forces. There his army was in great straits for want of food; whereupon he left Lesbos and crossed to the mainland, intending to cut the crops which were growing in the territory of Atarnēus. It happened that a Persian named Harpāgus was in these regions at the head of an army of no little strength. When Histæus landed, Harpāgus marched out to meet him, and destroyed a large number of his men and took Histæus himself prisoner thus: the Greeks and Persians were fighting at Malēna, in the region of Atarneus; and the battle was for a long time stoutly contested, till at length the cavalry came up, and, charging the Greeks, decided the conflict. The Greeks fled; and Histæus, who thought that Darius would not punish his fault with death, showed how he loved his life. Overtaken in his flight by one of the Persians, who was about to run him through, he cried aloud in the Persian language that he was Histæus of Miletus. Now, had he been taken at once before King Darius, I verily believe that he would have received no hurt, but the king would have freely forgiven him. Artaphernes, however, satrap of Sardis, and his captor Harpāgus, on this very account,—because they were afraid that, if he escaped, he would be again received into high favour by the king,—put him to death as soon as he arrived at Sardis. His body they impaled at that place, while they embalmed his head and sent it up to Susa to the king. When Darius learnt what had taken place, he found great fault with the men concerned for not bringing Histæus alive into his presence; he commanded his servants to wash and dress the head with all care, and then bury it, as the head of a man who had been a great benefactor to himself and the Persians.

The naval armament of the Persians wintered at Miletus, and in the following year proceeded to attack the islands off the coast, Chios, Lesbos, and Tēnēdos, which were reduced without difficulty. Whenever they became masters

of an island, the barbarians, in every instance, netted the inhabitants. Now the mode in which they practise this netting is this: men join hands, so as to form a line across from the north coast to the south, and then march through the island from end to end and hunt out the inhabitants. The Persians took also the Ionian towns upon the mainland, not, however, netting the inhabitants, as it was not possible.

And now their generals made good all the threats with which they had menaced the Ionians before the battle. For no sooner did they get possession of the towns than they chose out all the best-favoured boys and maimed them, while the most beautiful of the girls they tore from their homes and sent as presents to the king, at the same time burning the cities themselves, with their temples.<sup>1</sup> Thus were the Ionians for the third time reduced to slavery; once by the Lydians, and a second, and now a third time, by the Persians.

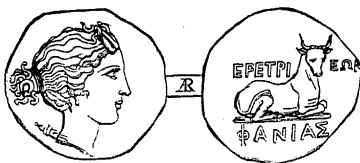
The sea force, after quitting Ionia, proceeded to the Hellespont, and took all the towns which lie on the left shore as one sails into the straits. For the cities on the right bank had already been reduced by the land force of the Persians. Now these are the places which border the Hellespont on the European side: the Chersonese, which contains a number of cities, Perinthus, the forts in Thrace, Selybria, and Byzantium. The Byzantines at this time, and their opposite neighbours, the Chalcedonians, instead of awaiting the coming of the Phœnicians, quitted their country, and sailing into the Euxine, took up their abode at the city of Mesēmbria. The Phœnicians, after burning all the places above mentioned, proceeded to Proconnēsus and Artāca, which they likewise delivered to the flames; this done, they returned to the Chersonese, intending to reduce those cities which they had not ravaged in their former cruise. Upon Cyzicus they made no attack at all, as before their coming the inhabitants had made terms with Œbārēs, the satrap of Dascyleium, and had submitted to the king. In the Chersonese the Phœnicians subdued all

<sup>1</sup> Grote observes, with reason, that the account of these severities must be exaggerated. The islands continue to be occupied by a Greek population; and the towns upon the mainland appear shortly as flourish-

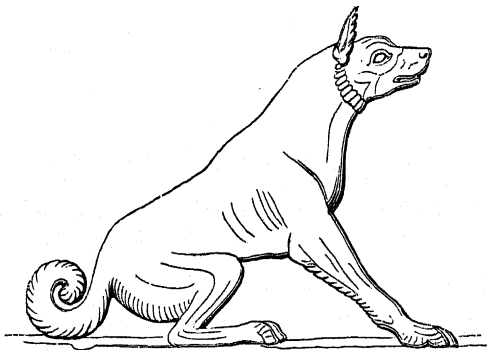
ing as ever. Within fourteen years the Greeks of Asia are found furnishing 290 ships (which would imply near upon 60,000 men) to the fleet of Xerxes.



the cities, excepting Cardia. At this time the Persians did no more hurt to the Ionians; but on the contrary, before the year was out, they carried into effect the following measures, which were greatly to their advantage. Artaphernes, satrap of Sardis, summoned deputies from all the Ionian cities, and forced them to enter into agreements with one another, not to harass each other by force of arms, but to settle their disputes by arbitration. He also took the measurement of their whole country in parasangs—such is the name which the Persians give to a distance of thirty furlongs—and settled the tributes which the several cities were to pay, at a rate that has continued unaltered from the time when Artaphernes fixed it down to the present day. The rate was very nearly the same as that which had been paid before the revolt.



COIN OF ERETRIA IN EUBŒA.



DOG (from Persepolis).

## Darius determines to invade Greece: Expedition under Datis and Artaphernes ending at Marathon, B.C. 493 ?—490.

THE next spring (B.C. 493 ?) Darius superseded all the other generals, and sent Mardōnius, the son of Gōbr̥yas, to the coast, and with him a large body of men, some fit for sea, others for land service. Mardonius was a youth at this time, and had only lately married Artazōstra, the king's daughter. When Mardonius, accompanied by this numerous host, reached Cilicia, he took ship and proceeded along shore with his fleet, while the land army marched under other leaders towards the Hellespont. In the course of his voyage along the coast of Asia he came to Ionia ; and here I have a marvel to relate which will greatly surprise some Greeks. Mardonius put down all the tyrants throughout Ionia, and in lieu of them established democracies. This done, he hastened to the Hellespont, and when a vast multitude of ships had been brought together, and a powerful land force, he conveyed his troops across the strait by means of his vessels, and proceeded through Europe against Erētria in Eubœa, and Athens. At least these towns served as a pretext for the expedition, the real purpose of which was to subjugate as great a number as possible of the Greek cities ; this became plain when the Thasians, who did not even lift a hand in their defence, were reduced by the sea force, while the land army added the Macedonians to the former slaves of the king. All the tribes on the nearer side of Macedonia had been reduced previously. From Thasos the fleet stood across to the mainland, and sailed along shore to Acanthus, whence an attempt was made to double Mount Athōs. But here a

violent north wind sprang up, against which nothing could prevail, and did much damage to many of the ships, wrecking them and driving them aground upon Athos. It is said the number of the ships destroyed was little short of 300; and the men who perished were more than 20,000.<sup>1</sup> For the sea about Athos abounds in monsters beyond all other seas; and some were seized and devoured by these animals, while others were dashed violently against the rocks; some who did not know how to swim were drowned, and some died of the cold. While the fleet suffered thus, on land Mardonius and his army were attacked in their camp during the night by the Brygi, a tribe of Thracians; and here large numbers of the Persians were slain, and even Mardonius himself received a wound. The Brygi, nevertheless, did not succeed in maintaining their freedom: for Mardonius would not leave the country till he had subdued them and made them subjects of Persia. Still, though he conquered them, the blow which his land force had received, and the great damage done to his fleet off Athos, induced him to retreat; thus his armament failed disgracefully and returned to Asia.

After this Darius resolved to test the Greeks, and try whether they were inclined to resist him in arms or prepare to make submission. He therefore sent heralds in various directions about Greece, with orders to demand everywhere earth and water for the king. At the same time he sent other heralds to the various seaport towns which paid him tribute, and required them to provide a number of ships of war and horse-transports. These towns accordingly began their preparations; and the heralds who had been sent to Greece obtained what the king had bid them ask from a large number of the states upon the mainland, and from all the islanders whom they invited. Among these last were the Æginetans, who, like the rest, consented to give earth and water to the Persian king.

Meantime the Persian pursued his own design, from

<sup>1</sup> The navigation of this coast is still full of danger. "Such is the fear," says Colonel Leake, "entertained by the Greek boatmen of the strength and uncertain direction of the currents around Mount Athos, and of the gales and high seas to which the vicinity of the mountain is subject during half the year, and

which are rendered more formidable by the deficiency of harbours in the Gulf of *Orfana* (*Sinus Strymōnicus*), that I could not, so long as I was in the peninsula, and though offering a high price, prevail upon any boat to carry me from the eastern side of the peninsula to the western."

day to day exhorted by his servant to "remember the Athenians," and urged continually by the Pīstratīdæ, who were ever accusing their countrymen. Moreover, it pleased him well to have a pretext for carrying war into Greece, that so he might reduce all who had refused to give him earth and water. As for Mardonius, since his expedition had succeeded so badly, Darius took the command of the troops from him, and appointed other generals in his stead, who were to lead the force against Eretria and Athens: Datis, who was by descent a Mede, and Artaphernes, the son of Artaphernes,<sup>1</sup> the king's own nephew. These men received orders to enslave Athens and Eretria, and to bring the slaves as prisoners into his presence.

So the new commanders took their departure from the court and went down to Cilicia, to the Aleïan plain, having with them a numerous and well-appointed land army. Encamping here, they were joined by the sea force which had been required of the several states, and at the same time by the horse-transports which Darius had, the year before, commanded his tributaries to make ready. On these the horses were embarked; and the troops were taken aboard the ships of war; after which the whole fleet, in all 600 triremes, sailed for Ionia. Thence, instead of proceeding by a straight course along the shore to the Hellespont and to Thrace,<sup>2</sup> they loosed from Samos and sailed across the Icarian sea<sup>3</sup> through the midst of the islands; mainly, I believe, because they feared the danger of doubling Mount Athos, where the year before they had suffered so grievously on their passage; but a constraining cause also was their former failure to take Naxos. When the Persians, therefore, approaching from the Icarian sea, cast anchor at Naxos, which they had determined to attack before any other state, the Naxians, recollecting what befell them formerly, instead of encountering them, took to flight, and hurried off to the hills. The Persians, however, succeeded in laying hands on some of them, whom they

<sup>1</sup> Artaphernes the elder was a son of Hystaspes and half-brother of Darius. His son had probably now succeeded him as satrap of Sardis.

<sup>2</sup> Coasting voyages were so much the established practice in ancient times, that to Herodotus making the *détour* along shore from Samos to

Attica appears the natural and the *straight* course.

<sup>3</sup> The Icarian sea received its name from the island of Icaria (now *Nikaria*), which lay between Samos and Mycōnos. It extended from Chios to Cos, where the Carpathian sea began.

carried away captive, while at the same time they burnt all the temples together with the town. This done, they left Naxos, and sailed to the other islands.

While the Persians were thus employed, the Delians quitted Delos, and took refuge in Tēnos. As the expedition drew near, Datis sailed forward in advance of the other ships; commanding them, instead of anchoring at Delos, to meet at Rhēnēa, opposite Delos, while he proceeded himself to discover where the Delians had fled; afterwards he sent a herald to them with this message:—

“Why are ye fled, ye holy men? Why have ye judged me so harshly and so wrongfully? I have surely sense enough, even had not the king so ordered, to spare the country which gave birth to two gods,<sup>1</sup>—to spare both the country and its inhabitants. Come back therefore to your dwellings, and once more inhabit your island.” Such was the message which Datis sent by his herald to the Delians. He also placed upon the altar 300 talents’ weight of frankincense, and offered it.

After this he sailed with his whole host against Eretria, taking with him both Ionians and Æolians. When he had departed, Delos (as the Delians told me) was shaken by an earthquake, the first and last shock that has been felt to this day. Truly this was a miracle whereby the god warned men of the evils that were coming upon them. For in the three following generations of Darius son of Hystaspes, Xerxes son of Darius, and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, more troubles befell Greece than in the twenty generations preceding Darius—troubles caused in part by the Persians, but in part arising from the contentions among their own chief men respecting the supreme power. Therefore it is not surprising that, though Delos had never before been shaken, it should at that time have felt an earthquake shock. Indeed there was an oracle which said of Delos:—

“Delos’ self will I shake, which never yet has been shaken.”

The barbarians, after loosing from Delos, proceeded to touch at the other islands, and took troops from each, and carried off a number of the children as hostages. Going

<sup>1</sup> Apollo and Artemis, whom the Persians may have thought it prudent to identify with the Sun and Moon objects of reverence to themselves.

thus from one to another, they came at last to Carystus;<sup>1</sup> but here the hostages were refused by the Carystians, who said they would neither give any, nor consent to bear arms against the cities of their neighbours, meaning Athens and Eretria. Hereupon the Persians laid siege to Carystus and wasted the country round, until at length the inhabitants agreed to do what was required.

Meanwhile the Eretrians, understanding that the Persian armament was coming against them, besought the Athenians for assistance. Nor did the Athenians refuse their aid, but assigned to them as auxiliaries the 4,000 landholders to whom they had allotted the estates at Chalcis. At Eretria, however, things were in no healthy state; for though they had called in the aid of the Athenians, yet they were not agreed among themselves how they should act; some of them wished to leave the city and to take refuge on the heights of Eubœa, while others, who looked to receiving a reward from the Persians, were making ready to betray their country. So when this came to the ears of Æschinēs, one of the first men in Eretria, he made known the whole state of affairs to the Athenians who had already arrived, and besought them to return home to their own land, and not perish with his countrymen. The Athenians listened to his advice, and, crossing over to Orōpus, escaped the danger. The Persian fleet now drew near and anchored at Tamŷnæ, Chœrææ, and Ægilia, places in the territory of Eretria. Once masters of these posts, they proceeded forthwith to disembark their horses, and made ready to attack the enemy. But the Eretrians were unwilling to sally out and offer battle; their only thought, after it had been resolved not to quit the city, was, if possible, to defend their walls. And now the fortress was assaulted in good earnest, and for six days there fell on both sides large numbers, but on the seventh day Euphorbus and Philagrus, who were both citizens of good repute, betrayed the place to the Persians. These had no sooner entered within the walls than they plundered and burnt all the temples in the town, in revenge for the burning of their own temples at Sardis; moreover, they did according to the orders of Darius, and carried away the inhabitants captive.

When the Persians had thus brought Eretria into sub-

<sup>1</sup> Carystus was one of the four principal cities of Eubœa.

jection, after waiting a few days, they set sail for Attica, greatly harassing the Athenians as they approached, and thinking to deal with them as they had dealt with the people of Eretria. Because there was no place in all Attica so convenient for their horse as Marathon,<sup>1</sup> and it lay moreover quite close to Eretria, Hippas, the son of Pisistratus, conducted them thither.

When intelligence of this reached the Athenians, they too marched their troops to Marathon, and there stood on the defensive, having at their head ten generals, of whom one was Miltiādēs. Now this man's father, Cimōn, was banished from Athens by Pisistratus. In his banishment it was his fortune to win the four-horse chariot-race at Olympia, whereby he gained the very same honour which had before been won by Miltiades,<sup>2</sup> his half-brother on the mother's side. At the next Olympiad he won the prize again with the same mares; upon which he caused Pisistratus to be proclaimed the winner, for they had agreed that on yielding him this honour Cimon should be allowed to come back to his country. Afterwards, still with the same mares, he won the prize a third time; whereupon he was put to death by the sons of Pisistratus, whose father was no longer living. They set men to lie in wait for him secretly; and these men slew him near the government-house in the night-time. He was buried outside the city, beyond what is called the Valley Road;<sup>3</sup> and right opposite his tomb were buried the mares which had won the three prizes. The same success had been achieved once previously, by the mares of Euāgōras the Lacedæmo-

1 Attica has but three maritime plains of any extent, the Athenian, the Thriāsian, and the plain of Marathon. The last of these is the clearest of trees, and the fittest for the movements of cavalry.

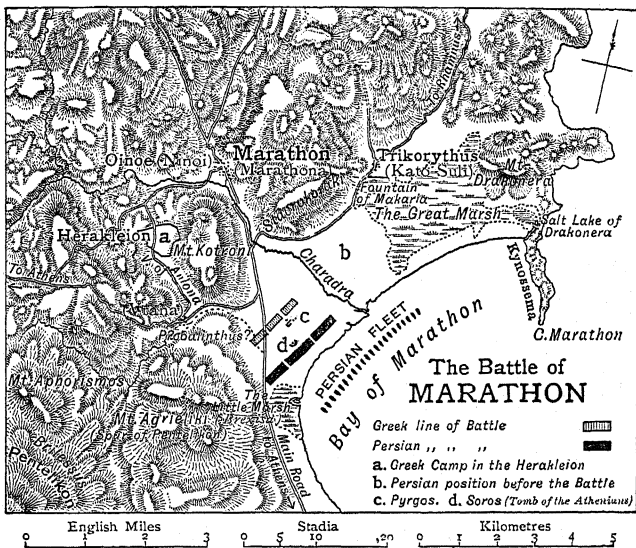
"The plain of Marathon," says Finlay, "extends in a perfect level along this fine bay, and is in length about six miles, its breadth never less than a mile and a half. Two marshes bound the extremities of the plain: the southern is not very large, and is almost dry at the conclusion of the great heats; but the northern, which generally covers considerably more than a square mile, offers

several parts which are at all seasons impassable. Both, however, leave a broad, firm, sandy beach between them and the sea. The uninterrupted flatness of the plain is hardly relieved by a single tree; and an amphitheatre of rocky hills and rugged mountains separates it from the rest of Attica, over the lower ridges of which some steep and difficult paths communicate with the districts of the interior."

<sup>2</sup> Miltiades, the son of Cypsēlus, the first tyrant of the Chersonese.

<sup>3</sup> Or "the road through Coelē." Coele appears to have been the name of one of the Attic demes.

nian, but never except by them. At the time of Cimon's death Stesägōras, the elder of his two sons, was in the Chersonese, where he lived with Miltiades his uncle; the younger, who was called Miltiades after the founder of the colony, was with his father in Athens. It was this Miltiades who now commanded the Athenians, after escaping from the Chersonese, and twice nearly losing his life. First he was chased as far as Imbros by the



Phoenicians, who desired to take him to the king; and when he had avoided this danger, and had reached his own country, and thought himself safe, he found his enemies waiting for him, and was cited by them before a court and impeached for his tyranny in the Chersonese. But here too he came off victorious, and was made general of the Athenians by the free choice of the people.

Now first, before they left the city, the generals sent off to Sparta a herald, one Pheidippidēs, by birth an Athenian, and by profession and practice a runner. According to the account which this man gave the Athenians on his return,



when he was near Mount Parthēnium, above Tēgēa, he met the god Pan, who called him by his name, and bade him ask the Athenians "why they neglected him so entirely, when he was kindly disposed to them, and had often helped them in times past, and would do so again in time to come?" The Athenians, entirely believing in the truth of this report, as soon as all was once more right, built a temple to Pan under the Acropolis,<sup>1</sup> and established in his honour yearly sacrifices and a torch-race. On this occasion, when Pheidippides was sent by the Athenian generals, and, according to his own account, saw Pan on his journey, he reached Sparta on the very next day after quitting the city of Athens.<sup>2</sup> Upon his arrival he went before the rulers, and said to them:—

"Men of Lacedæmon, the Athenians beseech you to hasten to their aid, and not allow that state, which is the most ancient in all Greece, to be enslaved by the barbarians. Eretria is already carried away captive; and Greece weakened by the loss of no mean city." Thus did Pheidippides deliver the message committed to him. The Spartans wished to help the Athenians, but were unable to give them any aid at once, as they did not like to break their established law. It was then the ninth day of the month; and they could not march out of Sparta on the ninth, when the moon had not reached the full. So they waited for full moon.

The barbarians were conducted to Marathon by Hippias, son of Pisistratus, who the night before had seen a strange vision in his sleep. He dreamt that he was lying in his mother's arms, and conjectured the dream to mean that he would be restored to Athens, recover the power which he had lost, and afterwards live to a good old age in his native country. Such was the sense in which he interpreted the vision. He now proceeded to act as guide to the Persians; and in the first place, he landed the prisoners taken from Eretria upon the island that is called

<sup>1</sup> The temple, or rather chapel, of Pan was contained in a hollow in the rock, just below the Propylææ, or entrance to the citadel. The cavern still exists of Pan and Apollo.

<sup>2</sup> The distance from Athens to Sparta by the road is reckoned by Isōcratēs at 1,200 stades, by Pliny

more accurately at 1,140. Moderns estimate the direct distance at 135 or 140 miles. Pheidippides must therefore have travelled at the rate of seventy English miles a day. In connexion with this read Browning's poem *Pheidippides*.

Ægileia,<sup>1</sup> which belonged to the city of Styra;<sup>2</sup> after this he brought the fleet to anchor off Marathon, and marshalled the barbarians as they disembarked. As he was thus employed, he happened to sneeze and cough with more violence than usual. Now, as he was a man of some years, and the greater number of his teeth were loose, it happened that one of them was forced out by his coughing, and fell down into the sand. Hippias took much trouble to find it; but the tooth was nowhere to be seen: whereupon he heaved a deep sigh, and said to the bystanders:—

“After all, the land is not ours; and we shall never be able to subdue it. All my share in it is the portion of which my tooth is in possession.” So Hippias believed that in this way his dream was fulfilled.

The Athenians were drawn up in order of battle in a sacred close belonging to Heræclēs, when they were joined by the Plateans, who came in full force to their aid. Some time before the Plateans had put themselves under the power of the Athenians; and these last had already done much on their behalf. The Athenian generals were divided in their opinions; some advised not to risk a battle, because they were too few to engage such a host as that of the Medes, while others were for fighting at once; and among these last was Miltiades. Seeing, therefore, that opinions were thus divided, and that the worst plans seemed likely to prevail, he resolved to go to the polemarch, and hold a conference with him. For the man on whom the lot fell to be polemarch<sup>3</sup> at Athens was entitled to give his vote with the ten generals, since anciently<sup>4</sup> the Athenians allowed him an equal right of voting with them. The polemarch was Callimachus; to him therefore Miltiades went, and said:—

“It rests with thee, Callimachus, either to reduce Athens to slavery, or to secure her freedom, and leave behind thee

<sup>1</sup> The Ægileia here spoken of is not the island of that name near Crete, but an island, or rather islet, between Eubœa and Attica, at the entrance of what was called the Myrtoan Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Styra was a town of southern Eubœa, not far from Carystus.

<sup>3</sup> The Polemarch, or War-Archon,

was the third archon in dignity, and before the time of Cleisthēnēs had constitutionally the general superintendence of all military matters.

<sup>4</sup> When Herodotus wrote, the polemarch had no military functions at all, but “attended to the personal and family interests of the metics and foreigners in general.”

to all future time a memory beyond that of Harmödius and Aristogeiton. For never since the time that the Athenians became a people were they in such danger. If they bow their necks beneath the yoke of the Medes, the calamities which they will have to suffer when given into the power of Hippias are certain; if, on the other hand, they fight and overcome, Athens may rise to be the first city in Greece. How it is that this is likely to happen, and how the decision in some sort rests with thee, I will proceed to show. We generals are ten in number, and our votes are divided; half of us wish to engage, half to avoid a combat. Now, if we do not fight, I expect to see a great disturbance at Athens which will shake men's resolutions, and then I fear they will submit; but if we fight the battle before any rot shows itself among our citizens, let the gods give us fair play, and we are well able to overcome the enemy. On thee therefore we depend in this, which lies wholly in thy power. Thou hast but to add thy vote to my side, and thy country will be free, and not free only, but the first state in Greece. Or, if thou wouldst rather give thy vote to those who would decline the combat, then the opposite will follow."

By these words Miltiades gained Callimachus; and the polemarch's vote caused the decision to be for fighting. Hereupon all those generals who had been desirous of hazarding a battle, when their turn came to command the army, gave up their right to Miltiades. Though, however, he accepted their offers, he nevertheless waited, and would not fight, until his own day of command arrived. Then at length, when his own turn was come, the Athenian battle was set in array, and this was the order of it. Callimachus the polemarch led the right wing; for it was at that time a rule with the Athenians to give the right wing to the polemarch.<sup>1</sup> After this followed the tribes, as they were numbered, in an unbroken line; while last of all came the Plataeans, forming the left wing. Ever since that day it has been a custom with the Athenians, in the sacrifices and assemblies held each fifth year at Athens, for the Athenian herald to implore the blessing of the gods on the Plataeans

<sup>1</sup> The *right* wing was the special post of honour. This arose from the greater exposure of those who fought at this end of the line, particularly when outflanked, from the shield being carried on the left arm (cf. Thucyd. v. 71).

conjointly with the Athenians. Now, as they marshalled the host upon the field of Marathon, in order that the Athenian front might be of equal length with the Median, the ranks of the centre were diminished, and it became the weakest part of the line, while the wings were both made strong with a depth of many ranks.

So when the battle was set in array, and the victims showed themselves favourable, instantly the Athenians, as soon as they were let go, charged the barbarians at a run. Now the distance between the two armies was little short of eight furlongs. When the Persians, therefore, saw the Greeks coming on apace, they made ready to receive their charge, although it seemed that the Athenians were bereft of their senses, and bent on their own destruction; for they saw a mere handful of men coming on at a run, without horsemen or archers. Such was the opinion of the barbarians; but the Athenians fell upon them in close array, and fought splendidly. They were the first of the Greeks, so far as I know, who introduced the custom of charging the enemy at a run; they were the first, too, who dared to face soldiers dressed in the uniform of the Medes. Until this time the very name of the Mede had been a terror to the Greeks. The two armies fought each other on the plain of Marathon for a considerable time; and in the centre, where the Persians themselves and the Sacæ had their place, the barbarians were victorious, and broke and pursued the Greeks into the inner country; but on the two wings the Athenians and the Platæans defeated the enemy. Here they suffered the routed barbarians to fly unmolested, and joining the two wings in one, fell upon those who had broken their centre, and fought and conquered them. These likewise fled, and the Athenians hung upon the runaways and cut them down, chasing them to the shore; there they laid hold of the ships and called aloud for fire. It was in the struggle here that Callimachus the polemarch, after greatly distinguishing himself,<sup>1</sup> lost his life; Stesilaüs too, one of the generals, was slain; and Cynægirus,<sup>2</sup> the son of Euphōrion, having seized on a vessel of the enemy's by

<sup>1</sup> Callimachus was represented the most prominent part in the in the Pœcile at Athens, in a battle.  
<sup>2</sup> Cynægirus was a brother of Æschyl

the ornament at the stern,<sup>1</sup> had his hand cut off by an axe, and perished; as did many other Athenians of note. Nevertheless, the Athenians secured seven of the vessels; while with the remainder the barbarians pushed off, and taking their Eretrian prisoners on board from the island where they had left them, doubled Cape Sunium, hoping to reach Athens before the return of the Athenians. The Alcmaeonidæ were accused by their countrymen of suggesting this course to them; they had, it was said, an understanding with the Persians, and made a signal to them, by raising a shield, after they had embarked.

The Persians accordingly sailed round Sunium. But the Athenians with all speed marched away to the defence of their city, and succeeded in reaching Athens before the appearance of the barbarians:<sup>2</sup> and as their camp at Marathon had been pitched in a precinct of Heracles, so now they encamped in another precinct of the same god at Cynosargēs. The barbarian fleet arrived, and lay to off Phalērum, which was at that time the haven of Athens; but after resting awhile upon their oars, they departed and sailed away to Asia.

There fell in this battle of Marathon, on the side of the barbarians, about 6,400 men;<sup>3</sup> on that of the Athenians, 192.

<sup>1</sup> The ornament at the stern consisted of wooden planks curved gracefully in continuance of the sweep by which the stern of the ancient ship rose from the sea.

<sup>2</sup> Marathon is six and twenty miles from Athens by the common route, that which passes between Hymettus and Pentelīcus. If the Greeks performed this march, one of seven hours, the very same afternoon, as Herodotus has been thought to imply, it would be about the most remarkable of the events of a very memorable day. Perhaps Herodotus did not intend such extreme activity. The Persians, it must be borne in mind, sailed first to Ægileia, which was fifteen miles from Marathon in a north-easterly direction. It would not be until their fleet was seen standing in again for the Attic coast instead of rounding Eubœa, that a suspicion would arise of their intention. This is extremely likely to have been early the next day. Then

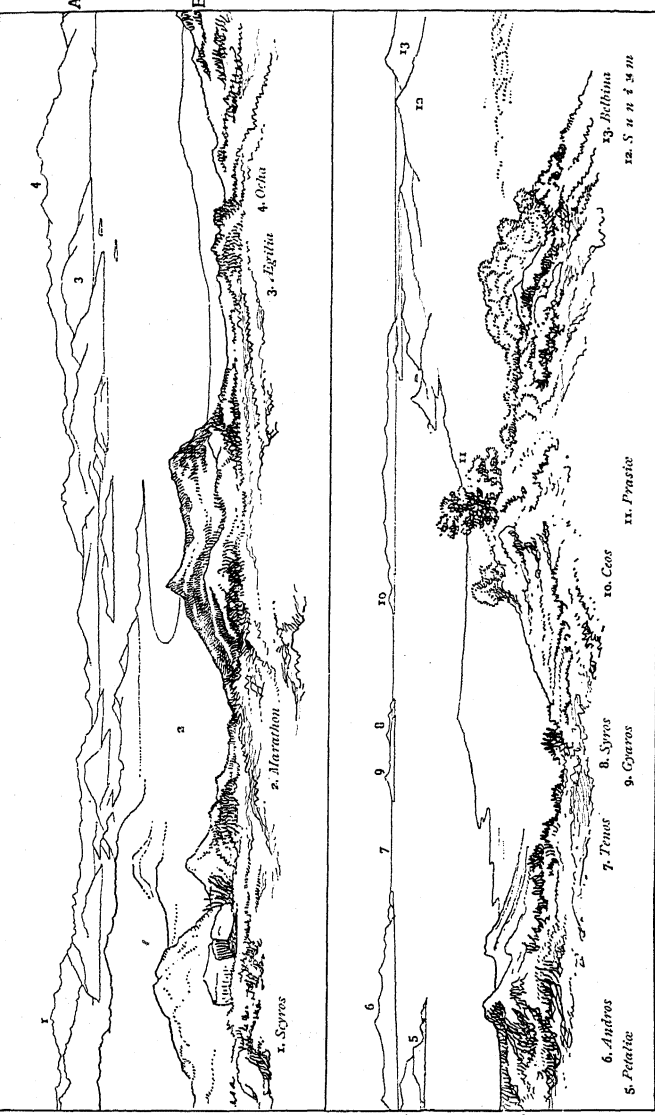
the Athenians set off with all speed, and, as the voyage was nearly four times the length of the land journey, arrived first. Plutarch supports this view, since he says expressly that Miltiades returned to Athens the day after the battle ("Bellone an pace clariores fuerint Athenienses," ii. p. 350).

The moderation of this estimate contrasts remarkably with the exaggerated statements of later times. The inscriptions under the picture in the Pœcile put the number of the slain at 200,000.

ι Μαρα-

τειναν Μήδων ἑξκοσι μν  
(Suidas, ad voc. Ποικίλη.)

Others spoke of 300,000 (Pausan. IV. xxv. § 2) or of an innumerable multitude (Xen. *Anab.* III. ii. § 12). The great slaughter took place at one of the marshes, into which the flying Persians were driven by their



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF COUNTRY FROM MARATHON TO SUNIUM.

Walker & Bondall sc.

[To face p. 36.]



A strange event happened during this fight. Epizēlus, an Athenian, was in the thick of the fray, and behaving himself as a brave man should, when suddenly he was struck with blindness, without blow of sword or dart; and this blindness continued thenceforth during the whole of his after life. The following is the account which, as I have heard, he gave himself: a gigantic warrior, with a huge beard, which shaded all his shield, stood facing him; but the apparition passed him by, and slew the man at his side. Such, as I understand, was the tale which Epizelus told.<sup>1</sup>

Datis meanwhile was on his way back to Asia, and had reached Mycōnos,<sup>2</sup> when he saw in his sleep a vision. What it was is not known; but no sooner was day come than he caused strict search to be made throughout the whole fleet, and finding an image of Apollo overlaid with gold on board a Phœnician vessel, he inquired from what place it had been taken; when he learned to what temple it belonged, he took it with him in his own ship to Delos, and placed it in the temple there, enjoining the Delians, who had now come back to their island, to restore the image to the Theban Delium, which lies on the coast opposite Chalcis. He then sailed away; but the Delians failed to restore the statue; and it was not till twenty years afterwards that the Thebans, warned by an oracle, brought it back themselves to Delium. As for the Eretrians whom Datis and Artaphernes had carried away captive, when the fleet reached Asia, they were taken up to Susa. Now, before they were made his prisoners, King Darius was bitterly angry with these men for having injured him without provocation; but now that he saw them brought into his presence, and become his subjects, he did them no other harm, but only settled them at one of his own stations in Cissia—a place called Ardericca—210 furlongs' distance

conquerors. The picture at the Pœcile gave this incident (Pausan. i. xv. § 4, and xxxii. § 6). The entire number of the Persians engaged is very uncertain. The barrow which marks the grave of the Athenian dead is still a conspicuous object on the plain of Marathon.

<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch (*Vit. These.* c. 35), Theseus was seen by a great number of the Athenians fight-

ing on their side against the Persians. In Pœcile the hero Marathon, Theseus, Athene, and Heracles were all represented as present (Pausan. i. xv. § 4).

<sup>2</sup> Myconos retains its name almost unchanged in the modern *Mikono*. It is separated from Delos by a narrow channel not more than two miles wide.



from Susa. Here they continued to my time, and still spoke their old language.

After full moon 2,000 Lacedæmonians came to Athens. So eager had they been to arrive in time, that they took but three days to reach Attica from Sparta. They came, however, too late for the battle; yet, as they had a strong desire to see the Medes, they continued their march to Marathon, and there viewed the slain. Then, after giving the Athenians all praise for their bravery, they departed home. But it fills me with wonder, and I can in no way believe the report, that the Alcæonidæ had an understanding with the Persians, and held them up a shield as a signal, wishing Athens to be brought under the yoke of the barbarians and of Hippias,—the Alcæonidæ, who have shown themselves bitter haters of tyrants. I am astonished, therefore, at the charge against them, and cannot bring myself to believe that they held up a shield; for they were men who had remained in exile during the whole time the tyranny lasted, and they even contrived the trick by which the Pisistratidæ were deprived of their throne. Indeed, I look upon them as the persons who in good truth gave Athens her freedom, far more than Harmodius and Aristogeiton. For these last did but exasperate the other Pisistratidæ by slaying Hipparchus (B.C. 514), and were far from doing anything towards putting down the tyranny; whereas the Alcæonidæ were manifestly the actual deliverers of Athens, if at least it be true that the Delphic priestess was prevailed upon by them to bid the Lacedæmonians set Athens free (B.C. 510). Perhaps it might be said that they were offended with the people of Athens, and therefore betrayed their country. But no, on the contrary, there were none of the Athenians who were held in such general esteem, or so laden with honours. So that it is not even reasonable to suppose that a shield was held up by them on this account. A shield was shown, no doubt; that cannot be gainsaid; but who it was that showed it I cannot determine further.

After the blow struck at Marathon, Miltiades, who was previously held in high esteem by his countrymen, increased yet more in influence. Hence, when he told them that he wanted a fleet of seventy ships, with an armed force, and money, without informing them what country he was going to attack, but only promised to enrich them if they would

accompany him, for it was a wealthy land, where they might easily get as much gold as they cared to have—when he told them this, they were quite carried away, and gave him the whole armament which he required. So Miltiades secured the armament and sailed against Paros, with the object, as he alleged, of punishing the Parians for having gone to war with Athens, inasmuch as a trireme of theirs had come with the Persian fleet to Marathon. This, however, was a mere pretence; the truth was that Miltiades owed the Parians a grudge, because Lysägoras, a Parian by birth, had told tales against him to Hydarnēs the Persian. Arrived before the place against which his expedition was designed, he drove the Parians within their walls, and forthwith laid siege to the city. At the same time he sent a herald to the inhabitants, and required of them a hundred talents, threatening that, if they refused, he would press the siege, and never give it over till the town was taken. But the Parians, without giving his demand a thought, proceeded to use every means they could devise for the defence of their city; they invented various new plans, and, amongst other things, worked at night to raise such parts of the wall as were likely to be carried by assault to double their former height. Thus far all the Greeks agree in their accounts of this; what follows is related upon the evidence of the Parians only. Miltiades had come to his wits' end, when one of the prisoners, a woman named Timo, who was by birth a Parian, and had held the office of under-priestess in the temple of the infernal goddesses, came and conferred with him. This woman, they say, when introduced into the presence of Miltiades, advised him, if he set great store on the capture of the place, to do whatever she suggested. When therefore she had told him what it was she meant, he went to the hill which lies in front of the city, and there leapt the fence enclosing the precinct of Dēmētēr Thesmōphōrus, since he was not able to open the door. After leaping into the place he went straight to the sanctuary, intending to do something with it—either to remove some of the holy things which it was not lawful to stir, or to perform some act or other, I cannot say what—and had just reached the door, when a feeling of horror suddenly came upon him,<sup>1</sup> and he returned the way he had

<sup>1</sup> He would feel that he was doing an act of great impiety, since the sanctuaries of Demeter were not to be entered by men.

come ; but in jumping down from the outer wall, he strained his thigh, or, as some say, struck the ground with his knee. So Miltiades returned home invalided, without bringing the Athenians any money, and without conquering Paros ; he had done no more than besiege the town for six and twenty days, and ravage the island. When it came to the knowledge of the Parians that Timo, the under-priestess of the goddesses, had advised Miltiades what he should do, they wished to punish her for her crime ; accordingly they sent messengers to Delphi, as soon as the siege was at an end, and asked the god if they should put the under-priestess to death. "She had disclosed," they said, "to the enemies of her country how they might bring it into subjection, and had exhibited to Miltiades mysteries which it was not lawful for a man to know." But the priestess forbade them, and said, "Timo was not in fault ; it was decreed that Miltiades should come to an unhappy end, and she was sent to lure him to his destruction." Upon the return of Miltiades from Paros, the Athenians held long debates about him ; and Xanthippus, who spoke more freely against him than the rest, accused him before the people, and brought him to trial for his life, on the charge of having dealt deceitfully with the Athenians. Though Miltiades was present in court he did not speak in his own defence ; for his thigh had begun to mortify, and disabled him from pleading his cause. He was forced to lie on a couch while his defence was made by his friends ; they dwelt at most length on the fight at Marathon, while they made mention also of the capture of Lemnos, telling how Miltiades took the island, and, after executing vengeance on the Pelasgians, gave up his conquest to Athens (about B.C. 500). The judgment of the people was in his favour so far that they spared his life ; but for the wrong he had done them they fined him fifty talents.<sup>1</sup> Soon afterwards his thigh completely gangrened and mortified. So Miltiades died ; and the fifty talents were paid by his son Cimon.

<sup>1</sup> Fifty talents (about £12,000) is an enormous sum for the time. Grote shows that, according to the usual process of law in the Athenian courts, it must have been the amount assessed by the friends of Miltiades, as the penalty which he was content to pay. The first sentence must have gone against him ; and then, on the question as to the amount of punishment, which always followed, Xanthippus must have proposed death, and the prisoner himself or his friends a fine of fifty talents.

## Death of Darius and Accession of Xerxes, B.C. 485.

Now when tidings of the battle fought at Marathon reached the ears of King Darius, his anger against the Athenians, which had been already roused by their attack upon Sardis, grew still fiercer, and he became more eager than ever to lead an army against Greece. Instantly he sent off messengers to make proclamation through the states, that fresh levies were to be raised, and these at an increased rate; while ships, horses, provisions, and transports were to be furnished also. So the men published his commands; and now all Asia was in commotion for three years (B.C. 489—486), while everywhere, as Greece was to be attacked, the best and bravest were enrolled for the service, and had to make their preparations accordingly.

Now as Darius was about to lead forth his levies, a fierce contention for the sovereign power arose among his sons; since the law of the Persians was, that a king must not go out with his army until he has appointed his successor. Before Darius obtained the kingdom, he had had three sons born to him of his former wife, who was a daughter of Gōbr̥yas; while, since he began to reign, Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, had borne him four. Artabazānēs was the eldest of the first family, and Xerxes of the second. These two, therefore, being sons of different mothers, were now at variance. Artabazanes claimed the crown as the eldest of all the children, because it was an established custom all over the world for the eldest to have preeminence; while Xerxes urged that he was sprung from Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and that Cyrus had won the Persians their freedom. Before Darius had pronounced on the matter, it happened that Dēmarātus, who had been

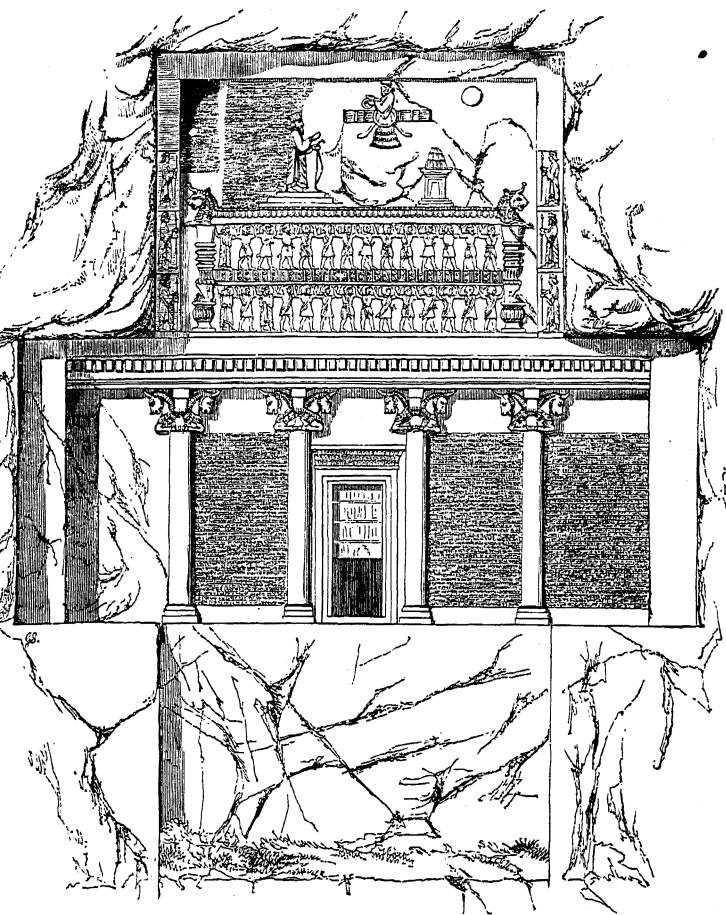
deprived of his kingship at Sparta, and had afterwards, of his own accord, gone into banishment, came up to Susa, and there heard of the quarrel of the princes. Hereupon, as report says, he went to Xerxes, and advised him, in addition to all that he had urged before, to plead—that at the time when he was born Darius was already king, and bore rule over the Persians; but when Artabazanes came into the world, he was merely a private person. It was therefore neither right nor seemly that the crown should go to another in preference to himself. “For at Sparta,” said Demaratus, by way of suggestion, “the law is, that if a king has sons before he comes to the throne, and another son is born to him afterwards, the child so born is heir to his father’s kingdom.”<sup>1</sup> Xerxes followed this advice, and Darius, persuaded that he had justice on his side, appointed him his successor. For my part I believe that, even without this, the crown would have gone to Xerxes; for Atossa was all-powerful. When Darius had thus appointed Xerxes his heir, he intended to lead out his armies, but was prevented by death while his preparations were still proceeding. He died in the year following the matters here related, after having reigned in all six and thirty years (B.C. 521—485), leaving the Athenians unpunished. At his death the kingdom passed to his son Xerxes.

Now Xerxes, on mounting the throne, cared little for the Greek war, and made it his business to collect an army against Egypt. But Mardōnius, who was at the court, and had more influence with him than any other Persian, being his own cousin, the son of a sister of Darius, plied him with discourses like the following:—

“Master, it is not fitting that the Athenians should escape unharmed after doing the Persians so much injury. Complete the work which thou hast now in hand, and then, when the pride of Egypt is brought low, lead an army against Athens. So shalt thou have high renown thyself, and others shall fear hereafter to attack thy country.”

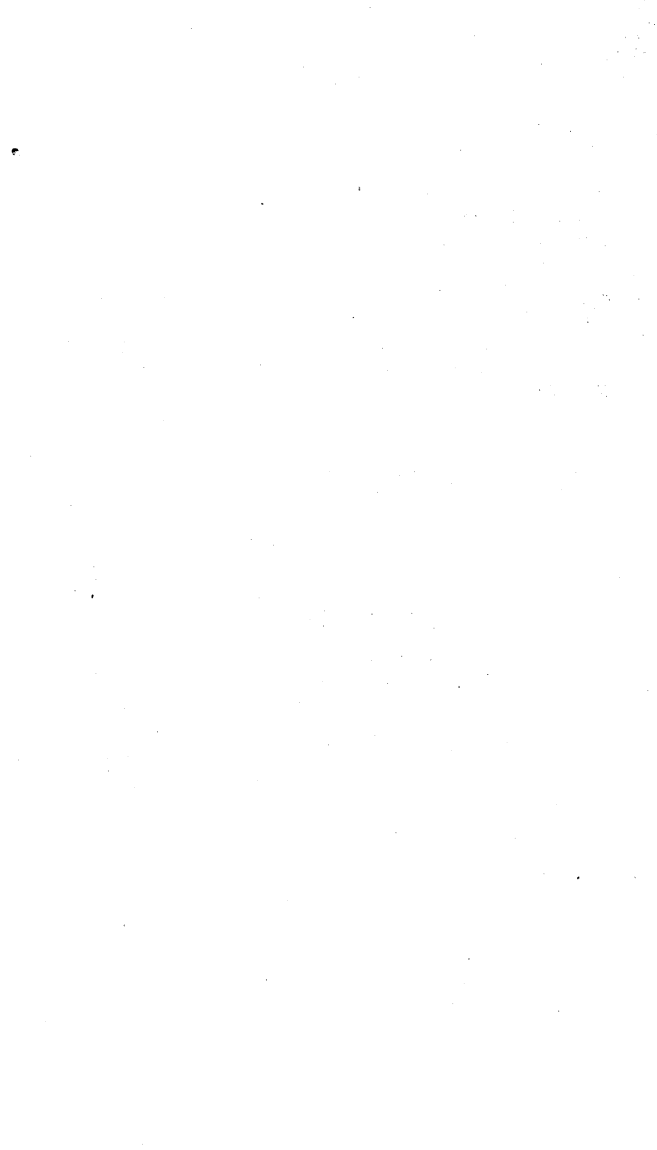
Thus far it was of vengeance that he spoke; but sometimes he would vary the theme, and observe by the way, “that Europe was a wonderfully beautiful region, rich in all kinds of cultivated trees, and its soil was excellent:

<sup>1</sup> The tale here introduced does not seem to have been credited by our author; and it is indeed very doubtful whether the law of succession at Sparta was such as is stated.



TOMB OF DARIUS.

[To face p. 42.]



no one but the king was worthy to own such a land." All this he said because he longed for adventures, and hoped to become satrap of Greece under the king; after a while he had his way, and persuaded Xerxes to do according to his wishes. Other events, however, occurred about the same time, and helped his persuasions. For, as it happened, messengers arrived from Thessaly, sent by the Aleuādæ, Thessalian kings, to invite Xerxes into Greece, and to promise him all the assistance which it was in their power to give. Further, the Pisistratidæ, who had come to Susa, used the same language as the Aleuadæ, and worked upon him even more than they, by means of Onomacritus of Athens, a dealer in oracles, who had set out the prophecies of Musæus in their order.<sup>1</sup> The Pisistratidæ had previously been at enmity with this man, but made up the quarrel before they removed to Susa. He was banished from Athens by Hipparchus because he foisted into the writings of Musæus a prophecy that the islands which lie off Lemnos would one day disappear into the sea. For this cause Hipparchus banished him, though till then they had been the closest friends. Now, however, he went up to Susa with the sons of Pisistratus, and they talked very grandly of him to the king; while for his part, whenever he was in the king's company, he repeated to him certain oracles; and while he took care to pass over all that spoke of disaster to the barbarians, brought forward the passages which promised them the greatest success. "It was fated," he told Xerxes, "that a Persian should bridge the Hellespont, and march an army from Asia into Greece." While Onomacritus thus plied Xerxes with his oracles, the Pisistratidæ and Aleuadæ did not cease to press on him their advice, till at last the king yielded, and agreed to lead out an expedition.

First, however, in the year following the death of Darius,<sup>2</sup> Xerxes marched against those who had revolted from him; and reduced them, and laid all Egypt under a far harder yoke than ever his father had put upon it, and gave the government to Achæmënēs, who was his own brother, and son of Darius.

<sup>1</sup> Of Musæus, as of Orpheus, with whom his name is commonly joined, scarcely anything is known. All perhaps that can be said with cer-

tainty is that poems believed to be ancient were current under his name as early as B.C. 520.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 484.





## V.

### Xerxes' Invasion of Greece.

#### (i.) PREPARATION.

AFTER Egypt was subdued (B.C. 484), as Xerxes was about to take in hand the expedition against Athens, he called an assembly of the noblest Persians, to learn their opinions and to lay before them his designs.<sup>1</sup> So, when the men met, the king spoke to them thus:—

“Persians, I shall not be the first to bring in among you a new custom—I shall but follow one which has come down to us from our forefathers. Never yet, as our old men tell me, has our race sought rest since the time when Cyrus overcame Astyāges, and we Persians wrested the sceptre from the Medes (B.C. 558). Now in all this God guides us; and we, obeying his guidance, prosper greatly. Why need I tell you of the deeds of Cyrus and Cambyses, and my own father Darius, how many nations they conquered, and added to our dominions? Ye know well what great things they did. But for myself, I will say that, from the day I mounted the throne, I have not ceased to consider how I may rival those who have preceded me in this post of honour, and increase the power of Persia as much as any. Truly I have pondered upon this, until at last I have found a way, whereby we may at once win glory and get possession of a land which is as large and as rich as our own—nay, which is even more varied in the crops it bears—while at the same time we obtain satisfaction and revenge. For this reason I have now called you together, that I may

<sup>1</sup> These speeches have of course which the war arose, and the feelings of those engaged in it. Oriental respect for royalty strove to exonerate Xerxes from all blame, views of the circumstances out of

make known my design. I intend to throw a bridge over the Hellespont and march an army through Europe against Greece, that thereby I may obtain vengeance from the Athenians for the wrongs committed against the Persians and against my father. Your own eyes saw the preparations of Darius against these men; but death came upon him, and frustrated his hopes of revenge. In his behalf, therefore, and in behalf of all the Persians, I undertake the war, and pledge myself not to rest till I have taken and burnt Athens, which has dared, unprovoked, to injure me and my father. Long since they came to Asia with Aristagoras of Miletus, who was one of our slaves, and entered Sardis, and burnt its temples and its sacred groves<sup>1</sup>; again, more lately, when we made a landing upon their coast under Datis and Artaphernes, how roughly they handled us ye need not now be told.<sup>2</sup> For these reasons, I am bent upon this war; I see great advantages in it. Once let us subdue this people, and their neighbours who possess the land of Pölops the Phrygian, and we shall extend the Persian territory as far as God's heaven reaches. The sun will then shine on no land beyond our borders; for I will pass through Europe from one end to the other, and with your aid make of all the lands which it contains one country. For, if what I hear be true, the facts are these: the nations of which I speak once swept away, there is no city or country left in all the world which will venture so much as to withstand us in arms. By this plan, then, we shall bring all men under our yoke, alike those who are guilty and those who are innocent of wrong. For yourselves, if you wish to please me, do as I say: when I proclaim the time for the army to meet, hasten to the muster with brave hearts, every one of you; and know that to the man who brings with him the most gallant array I will give the gifts which in our land we consider most precious. This then is what ye have to do. But to show that I am not self-willed, I lay the question before you, and give you leave to speak your minds openly."

Hereupon Mardonius replied and said:—

"Of a truth, my lord, thou dost surpass, not only all living Persians, but likewise those yet unborn. Most true and right is each word that thou hast uttered; but best

of all thy resolve to let the Ionians<sup>1</sup> who live in Europe—a worthless crew—mock us no more. It were indeed a monstrous thing if, after conquering and enslaving the Sacæ,<sup>2</sup> the Indians, the Ethiopians, the Assyrians, and many other mighty nations, not for any wrong that they had done us, but only to increase our empire, we should allow the Greeks, who have done us wanton injury, to escape our vengeance. What is it that we fear in them?—surely not their numbers?—not the greatness of their wealth? We know their way of fighting—we know the weakness of their power; already we have subdued their sons who dwell in our country, the Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians. I had experience of these men myself when I marched against them by the orders of thy father (B.C. 495); and though I went as far as Macedonia and came but a little short of reaching Athens, yet not a soul ventured to come out against me to battle. And yet, I am told, these same Greeks are accustomed to wage wars against one another most unskilfully, through sheer perversity and folly. No sooner is war proclaimed than they search out the smoothest and fairest plain that is to be found in all the land, and there they assemble and fight; hence even the conquerors depart with great loss: I say nothing of the conquered, for they are destroyed altogether. Now surely, as they all speak one language, they ought to interchange heralds and messengers, and make up their differences by any means rather than battle; or, at the worst, if they must needs fight one another, they ought to post themselves as strongly as possible, and so fight out their quarrels. But in spite of this their folly, when I led my army against these Greeks to the very borders of Macedonia, they did not so much as think of offering battle. Who then will dare, sire, to meet thee in arms, when thou comest with all Asia's warriors at thy back, and with all her ships? For my part, I do not believe

<sup>1</sup> This use of the term "Ionian" for the European Greeks is not casual, but characteristic of the Oriental modes of speech, and marks Herodotus for a keen observer of little peculiarities. That the Jews knew the Greeks at large under the name of Javan, or Javanim, which is equivalent to Ionians, has been frequently noticed; but it has

only recently appeared from the inscriptions that the Persians did the same. Darius includes the whole extent of his Greek dominions under the single title of *Yuna*, which in the Babylonian is *Yavannu*.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently Mardonius means the Scythians of Europe, whom he represents as reduced to slavery by the expedition of Darius.

the Greeks will be so foolhardy. Grant, however, that I am mistaken, and that they are foolish enough to meet us in open fight; in that case they will learn that there are no such soldiers in the world as we. Nevertheless, let us spare no pains; for nothing comes without trouble; all that men gain is gained by trouble."

When Mardonius had in this way smoothed down the hard words of Xerxes, he held his peace.

The other Persians were silent; for all feared to raise their voices against the plan proposed. But Artabānus, the son of Hystaspes, and uncle of Xerxes, trusting to his relationship, took courage and spoke:—"O king!" he said, "it is impossible, if no more than one opinion is uttered, to make choice of the best: a man is forced then to follow whatever advice may have been given him; but if opposite speeches are delivered, then one can choose. In like manner pure gold is not recognised by itself; but when we test it beside baser ore, we see which is the better. I counselled thy father, Darius, my own brother, not to attack the Scythians, a race of people who had no town in their whole land. He hoped, however, to subdue those wandering tribes, and would not listen to me, but marched an army against them, and ere he returned home lost many of his bravest warriors. Thou art about, sire, to attack a people far superior to the Scythians, a people distinguished above others both by land and sea. It is fit therefore that I should tell thee what danger thou dost incur hereby. Thou sayest that thou wilt bridge the Hellespont, and lead thy troops through Europe against Greece. Now, suppose some disaster befall thee by land or sea, or both. It may be even so; for the men are reputed valiant. Indeed, one may measure their prowess from what they have done already; for when Datis and Artaphernes led their huge army into Attica, the Athenians defeated them alone (B.C. 490). But grant they are not successful both ways. Still, if they man their ships, and, defeating us by sea, sail to the Hellespont, and there destroy our bridge,—that, sire, were a fearful hazard. It is not by my own wisdom alone that I conjecture what will happen; I remember how narrowly we escaped disaster once, when thy father bridged over the Thracian Bosphorus and the Ister (Danube), and marched against the Scythians, and they tried every sort of prayer to induce the Ionians, who had

charge of the bridge over the Ister, to break the passage. On that day, if Histæus, the tyrant of Miletus, had sided with the other tyrants, and not set himself to oppose their views, the empire of the Persians would have come to nought. It is, indeed, a dreadful thing even to hear it said, that the king's power depended wholly on one man. Think then no more of incurring so great a danger when no need presses, but follow the advice I offer. Break up this meeting, and when thou hast considered the matter well thyself, and settled what thou wilt do, declare to us thy resolve. I know nothing so profitable for a man as to take wise counsel with himself; for even if results are contrary to his hopes, still he has counselled well, though fortune has made the counsel of none effect: whereas if a man counsels ill and success follows, he has gained a windfall, but his counsel is none the less silly. Seest thou how God with his lightning smites always the larger animals, and will not suffer them to wax insolent, while the smaller chafe him not? how his bolts fall ever on the highest houses and the tallest trees? So plainly does he love to bring down all that exalts itself. Thus at times a mighty host is discomfited by few men, when God in his jealousy sends fear or storm from heaven, and they perish miserably. For God allows high thoughts to no one but himself. Again, hurry always brings disasters, from which great sufferings arise; but delay brings many advantages, not apparent, maybe, at first sight, but such as in course of time are seen by all. Such, then, is my counsel, sire, to thee; and thou, Mardonius, forbear to speak foolishly of the Greeks, who are men that ought not to be lightly esteemed by us. For while thou revilest the Greeks, thou dost encourage the king to lead his troops against them; and this, as it seems to me, is what thou art specially striving to accomplish. Heaven send thou succeed not in thy wish! For slander is of all evils the most terrible. In it two men do wrong, and one man has wrong done to him. The slanderer does wrong, inasmuch as he abuses a man behind his back; and the hearer, inasmuch as he believes what he has not thoroughly examined. The man slandered in his absence suffers wrong at the hands of both: for one brings against him a false charge; and the other thinks him an evil-doer. If,

however, it must needs be that we go to war with this people, at least allow the king to remain at home in Persia. Then let us both stake our children's lives upon the issue, and do thou choose out thy men, and take with thee whatever troops thou wilt, and lead our armies out to battle. If things go well for the king, as thou sayest they will, let me and my children be put to death; but if my



warnings prove true, let thy children suffer, and thyself too, if thou shalt come back alive. But shouldst thou refuse this wager, and still resolve to march an army against Greece, undoubtedly some of those whom thou leavest behind thee here will one day receive the sad news that Mardonius has brought a great disaster upon the Persian people, and lies a prey to dogs and birds somewhere in the land of the Athenians, or in the land of the

Lacedæmonians ; unless, indeed, thou hast perished sooner by the way, proving in thy own person the power of those men on whom thou wouldst fain urge the king to make war."

Thus spoke Artabanus. But Xerxes, full of wrath, replied :—

"Artabanus, thou art my father's brother—that shall save thee from receiving the due reward of thy silly words. One disgrace, however, I will lay upon thee, coward and faint-hearted as thou art—thou shalt not come with me to fight these Greeks, but shalt wait behind here with the women. Without thy aid I will accomplish all of which I spoke. For let me not be thought a true son of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsāmēs, the son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teïspes, the son of Cyrus,<sup>1</sup> the son of Cambÿsēs, the son of Teïspes, the son of Achæmënēs, if I take not vengeance on the Athenians. I know full well that, were we to remain at rest, they would not do so, but would most certainly invade our country, if at least it be right to judge from what they have already done ; for, remember, it was they who fired Sardis and attacked Asia. So now retreat is on both sides impossible, and the choice lies between doing injury and submitting ; either our empire must pass under the dominion of the Greeks, or their land become the prey of the Persians ; for there is no middle course left in this quarrel. It is right, then, that we, who have in times past received wrong, should now avenge it, and that I should thereby discover what risk I run in marching against these men—men whom Pelops the Phrygian, a vassal of my forefathers,<sup>2</sup> subdued so utterly, that to this day both the land (the Peloponnese), and the people who dwell therein, alike bear the conqueror's name."

<sup>1</sup> The genealogy of himself which Darius had engraved on the rocks of Behistun (p. 49) determines absolutely the number of generations between Xerxes and Achæmenes, *proving* that the names of Cyrus and Cambyzes do not belong to the stem of Darius, but are thrown into the list in right of Xerxes' mother, Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. For that purpose Teïspes is, wrongly, repeated. For a full account of the inscription on the Behistun rocks, which are on the western frontier of Media, on the road from Babylon to

Ecbatana, see Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. ii., pp. 591, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus tells us at the beginning of his History that the Persians considered Asia and all its nations as their own always. In this spirit Xerxes is made to claim Pelops the Phrygian as a Persian vassal, though at the time when Pelops (according to the tradition) came to Greece (c. B.C. 1300), the Persian tribes were probably confined as yet within the Caspian Gates, or perhaps had not even emerged from beyond the Hindoo Koosh Mountains.

Thus far the speaking. Afterwards evening fell; and Xerxes began to find the advice of Artabanus disquiet him greatly. So he thought of it that night, and concluded at last that it was not to his advantage to lead an army into Greece. When he had thus made up his mind anew, he fell asleep. And now he saw in the night, as the Persians declare, a vision; he thought a tall and beautiful man stood over him and said: "Hast thou then changed thy mind, Persian, and wilt thou not lead out thy host against the Greeks, after thou hast commanded the Persians to collect their levies? Be sure thou art unwise to change; nor is there a man here who will approve. The path that thou didst choose to-day, let that be followed." After thus speaking the man seemed to Xerxes to fly away. Day dawned; and the king gave no heed to this dream, but called together the same Persians as before, and spoke to them as follows:—

"Men of Persia, forgive me if I alter my late resolve. I have not yet reached the full years of wisdom, and those who urge me to this war leave me not for a moment to myself. When I heard the advice of Artabanus my young blood boiled within me, and I spoke words against him little suited to his years: now, however, I confess my fault, and am resolved to follow his advice. Understand, then, that I have changed my purpose of carrying war into Greece, and cease to trouble."

When they heard these words the Persians were full of joy, and, falling at the feet of Xerxes, did obeisance. But when night came, the same vision again stood over Xerxes as he slept, and said: "Son of Darius, it seems thou hast openly, before all the Persians, renounced the expedition, making light of my words as though thou hadst not heard them spoken. Know, therefore, and be well assured, that unless thou go out to the war, this shall happen to thee—as thou art grown mighty and powerful so soon, so shalt thou soon be brought low indeed." Then Xerxes, greatly frightened at the vision, sprang from his bed, and sent a messenger to Artabanus; he came at the summons, and Xerxes spoke to him thus:—

"Artabanus, at the moment I acted foolishly when I gave thee ill words in return for thy good advice. However, it was not long ere I repented, and was convinced that thy advice was such as I ought to follow. But I may not now



act in this way, greatly as I wish it. For ever since I repented and changed my mind a dream has haunted me, which disapproves my intentions, and has now just gone from me with threats. Now, if this dream is sent to me from God, and if indeed it is his will that our troops should march against Greece, thou too wilt have the same dream come to thee and receive the same commands as myself. And this will be most sure to happen if thou wilt put on the dress which I wear, and then take thy seat upon my throne, and lie down to sleep upon my bed."

Such were the words of Xerxes. Artabanus would not at first yield to the king's command; for he deemed himself unworthy to sit upon the royal throne.<sup>1</sup> At last, however, he was forced to give way, and did as Xerxes bade him; but first he spoke:—

"To me, sire, it seems to matter little whether a man is wise himself, or willing to hearken to such as give good advice. In thee truly are found both tempers; but the counsels of evil men lead thee astray: they are like the gales of wind which vex the sea—else the most useful thing for man in all the world—and suffer it not to follow the bent of its own nature. For myself, it grieved me not so much to be reproached by thee, as to see that, when two plans were placed before the Persian people, one of a nature to increase their pride, the other to humble it, by showing them how hurtful it is to allow one's heart always to covet more than one possesses, thou madest choice of that which was the worst both for thyself and for the Persians. Now thou sayest, that from the time when thou didst approve the better course, and give up the thought of warring against Greece, a dream has haunted thee, sent by some god, which will not suffer thee to lay aside the expedition. Such things, my son, have of a truth nothing divine in them. The dreams that wander to and fro among mankind, I will tell thee what they are,—I who have seen so many more years than thou. Whatever thoughts a man has been thinking during the day hover round him in the visions of his dreams at night. Now during these many days we have had our hands full of this enterprise. If, however, the matter be not as I suppose,

<sup>1</sup> Sitting upon the king's throne is said to have been an offence punishable with death in Persia. Arta-

banus would hesitate, not knowing whether Xerxes might not be laying a trap for him.

but God has indeed some part in it, thou hast in brief declared the whole that can be said of it—let this thing appear to me as it has to thee, and lay on me the same injunctions. But it ought not to appear to me any more if I put on thy clothes than if I wear my own, nor if I sleep in thy bed than if I sleep in mine—supposing that it intends to appear at all. For this, be it what it may, that visits thee in thy sleep surely is not so very foolish as to see me, and at once mistake me for thyself because I am dressed in thy clothes. Now, however, it is our task to see if it will think me of no account, and not deign to appear to me, whether I wear mine own clothes or thine, while it haunts thee continually. If it does so, and appears often, I should say myself that it is from God. For the rest, if thy mind is fixed, and it is not possible to turn thee from thy design, but I must needs go and sleep in thy bed, well and good, let it be even so; and when I have done according to thy wish, then let it appear to me. Till such time, I shall keep to my old opinion.”

When Artabanus had so said, thinking to show Xerxes that his words were idle, he did as he bade. He put on Xerxes' robes, and took his seat upon the royal throne, and lay down to sleep upon the king's own bed. As he slept, there appeared to him the same dream which had been seen by Xerxes; it came and stood over Artabanus, and said:—

“Thou art the man, then, who under pretence of devotion to Xerxes art seeking to dissuade him from leading his armies against Greece! But thou shalt not escape scathless, either now or in time to come, because thou seekest to prevent that which is fated. As for Xerxes, he has been plainly told what will befall him if he refuse my bidding.”

In such words, as Artabanus thought, the vision threatened him, and was about to burn his eyes out with red-hot irons. At this he shrieked, and leaping from the bed hurried to Xerxes, and sitting at his side gave him a full account of the vision; after which he spoke the words which follow:—

“I, O king! am a man who have seen many mighty empires overthrown by weaker; and therefore I sought to hinder thee from being carried away by thy youth; since I knew how evil a thing it is to covet more than one

possesses. I remember the expedition of Cyrus against the Massagætæ, and the issue of it (B.C. 525 ?); I remember the march of Cambyses against the Ethiopians (B.C. 523 ?); I took part in the attack of Darius upon the Scythians (B.C. 515 ?);—bearing all this in mind, I thought to myself that if thou shouldst remain at peace, all men would deem thee happy. But as this impulse has come from above, and a heaven-sent destruction seems about to overtake the Greeks, behold, I change my mind, and alter my views upon the matter. Do thou therefore make known to the Persians what God has sent thee, and bid them follow the orders first given them, and prepare their levies. Be careful to act so that God's bounty may not be hindered by any unreadiness of thine."

Thus spoke these two together; and Xerxes, in good spirits now on account of the vision, when day broke, laid all before the Persians; while Artabanus, who had formerly been the only man openly to oppose the expedition, now showed as openly that he favoured it. After Xerxes had thus determined to go out to war, there appeared to him in his sleep yet a third vision. The Magi were consulted,<sup>1</sup> and said that its meaning reached to the whole earth, and that all mankind would become his slaves. Now the king's vision was this: he dreamt that he was crowned with a branch of an olive-tree, and that boughs spread out from the olive-branch and covered the whole earth; then suddenly the garland vanished, as it lay upon his brow. As soon as the Magi had thus interpreted the vision, all the Persians who were come together departed to their governments, where each displayed the greatest zeal, on the faith of the king's offers. For all hoped to obtain for themselves the gifts which had been promised. So Xerxes gathered together his host, searching every corner of the continent.

Now Xerxes spent four full years (B.C. 485—481), after the recovery of Egypt, in collecting his host, and making ready all that was needful for his soldiers. It was not till near the close of the fifth year that he set forth on his march, accompanied by a mighty multitude. For of all the armaments of which any mention has reached us, this was

<sup>1</sup> For the general practice among the Oriental nations to attend to dreams, and to require an interpretation of them from their priests, see Gen. xli. 8, and Dan. ii. 2, iv. 6.

by far the greatest; so much so that no other expedition compared to this seems of any account, neither that which Darius undertook against the Scythians, nor the expedition of the Scythians which the attack of Darius was designed to avenge, when in pursuit of the Cimmerians they fell upon the Median territory, and subdued and held for a time almost the whole of Upper Asia; nor, again, that of the Atridæ against Troy, of which we hear in story; nor that of the Mysians and Teucrians, which was still earlier, when these nations crossed the Bosphorus into Europe, and, after conquering all Thrace, pressed forward till they came to the Ionian Sea, while southward they reached as far as the river Penēus. All these expeditions, and others, if such there were, are as nothing compared with this. For was there a nation in all Asia which Xerxes did not bring with him against Greece? Or was there a river, except those of unusual size, which sufficed for his troops to drink? One nation furnished ships; another was arrayed among the foot-soldiers; a third had to supply horses; a fourth, transports for the horses and men, and for the transport service; a fifth, ships of war for the bridges; a sixth, ships and provisions. And first, because the former fleet had met with so great a disaster near Athōs, preparations were made for about three years there. A fleet of triremes lay at Elæus on the Chersonese; and from this station detachments were sent by the various nations whereof the army was composed, which relieved one another at intervals, and worked at a trench beneath the lash of taskmasters; the people dwelling about Athos took their part in the work. Two Persians, Bubārēs and Artachæēs, superintended the undertaking. Athos is a great and famous mountain, inhabited, and stretching far out into the sea. Where the mountain ends, towards the mainland, it forms a peninsula; and in this place there is a neck of land about twelve furlongs across,<sup>1</sup> the whole extent of which, from the sea of the Acanthians to that opposite Torōnē, is a level plain, broken only by a few low hills.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is in reality 2,500 yards, or 12½ stadia.

<sup>2</sup> The level plain towards the sea of the Acanthians is a marked feature. Beyond this plain a range of low hills crosses the isthmus, the greatest height not exceeding 51 feet. From

these hills, on the south side, a valley opens out, along which the course of the canal may be clearly traced. This valley is still known to the natives by the name of *Prōvīlaka*, i.e. προαίλακα, "the canal in front" of Mount Athos."

Here, upon this isthmus where Athos ends, is Sānē, a Greek city. Inside of Sane, and upon Athos itself, are a number of towns, which Xerxes was now employed in disjoining from the continent: these are Dium, Olophyxus, Acrothōūm, Thyssus, and Cleōnæ.<sup>1</sup>

Now the way in which they dug was this:<sup>2</sup> a line was drawn across by the city of Sane; and along this the various nations divided out among themselves the work to be done. When the trench grew deep, the workmen at the bottom continued to dig, while others handed the earth, as it was dug out, to labourers placed higher up on ladders, and these taking it passed it on further, till it came at last to those at the top, who carried it off and emptied it away. All the other nations, therefore, except the Phœnicians, had double labour; for the sides of the trench fell in continually, as could not but happen, since they made the width no greater at the top than was required at the bottom. But the Phœnicians showed in this the skill which they exhibit in all their undertakings. For in their portion of the work they began by making the trench at the top twice as wide as the prescribed measure, and then, as they dug downwards, brought the sides nearer and nearer, so that when they reached the bottom their part of the work was of the same width as the rest. In a meadow near, there was a place of assembly and a market; here great quantities of corn, ready ground, were brought from Asia.

It seems to me, when I consider the work, that Xerxes,

<sup>1</sup> See the map of Chalcidice, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> The whole story of the canal across the isthmus of Athos has been considered a fable by some ancient and modern writers (*e.g.*, Juven. x. 173, 174). Many modern travellers, however, have given accounts of the distinct traces which remain of the work. Captain Spratt appears to have surveyed the isthmus with great exactness. He found distinct appearances of the ancient cutting, almost across its whole extent, only failing where the canal approached the sea, and somewhat indistinctly marked in the alluvial plain north of the hills. The canal forms a line of ponds, from two to eight feet deep and from sixty to

ninety broad, nearly from one sea to the other. It was "cut through beds of tertiary sands and marls" (which would account for the falling in of the banks), being probably, where it was deepest, not more than sixty feet below the natural surface of the ground, which at its highest point rises only fifty-one feet above the sea level. It was not really a great work, but a very easy one, and can scarcely have taken more than a year to complete. Colonel Leake regards it as a very politic proceeding, on account of the dangerous character of the navigation about the peninsula, especially on its north coast, which has no harbours.

in making it, was influenced by pride, wishing to display the extent of his power, and to leave a memorial behind him to posterity. For though he could, without trouble,<sup>1</sup> have had his ships drawn across the isthmus, yet he issued orders that a canal should be made through which the sea might flow, and that it should be of such a width as would allow of two triremes passing through it abreast with the oars in action. He gave to the same persons who were set over the digging of the trench, the further task of making a bridge across the river Strymon.

While all this was in progress, cables were preparing for Xerxes' bridges, some of papyrus and some of white flax, a task which he entrusted to the Phœnicians and Egyptians. He also laid up stores of provisions in various places, to save the army and the beasts of burden from suffering hunger upon their march to Greece. He inquired carefully about all the sites, and had the stores laid up in such as were most convenient, causing them to be brought across from different parts of Asia in various ways, some in transports and others in merchantmen. The greater portion was carried to Leucē-Actē,<sup>2</sup> upon the Thracian coast; some part, however, was conveyed to Tyrodiza, in the country of the Perinthians, some to Doriscus, some to Eïon upon the Strymon, and some to Macedonia.

## (ii.) TROOPS COLLECTED AT SARDIS (B.C. 481).

During the time that all these labours were in progress, the land army which had been collected was marching with Xerxes towards Sardis, having started from Critalla<sup>3</sup> in Cappadocia. At this spot all the host which was about to accompany the king in his passage across the continent had been bidden to assemble. And here it is not in my power to mention which of the satraps was adjudged to have brought his troops in the most gallant

<sup>1</sup> The light ships of the ancients were easily transported in this way across the land. So frequent was the practice at the Isthmus of Corinth, that the line traversed by vessels acquired there the proper name of Diolcus.

<sup>2</sup> Leuce-Acte, or the "White Strand," was one of the Greek settlements on the coast of the Propontis. It cannot have been far north of Pactya.

<sup>3</sup> Critalla is unknown to any other writer.

array, and therefore was rewarded by the king according to his promise: I do not know whether this matter ever was decided. After crossing the river Hällys, the host of Xerxes marched through Phrygia till it reached the city of Celænæ.<sup>1</sup> Here are the sources of the river Mæander, and of another stream of no less size, which bears the name of Catarrhactēs (or the Cataract); the last-named river has its rise in the market-place of Celænæ, and empties itself into the Mæander. Here, too, in this market-place, is hung up to view the skin of the Silēnus<sup>2</sup> Marsyas, which Apollo, as the Phrygian story goes, stripped off and placed there. Now there lived in this city a Lydian called Pythius. This man entertained Xerxes and his whole army most magnificently, offering at the same time to give a sum of money for the war. On the mention of money, Xerxes turned to the Persians who stood by, and asked of them, "Who is this Pythius, and what is his wealth, that he offers us this?" They answered him, "This is the man, sire, who gave thy father Darius the golden plane-tree,<sup>3</sup> and the golden vine;<sup>4</sup> and he is still the wealthiest man we know in all the world, excepting thee." Xerxes wondered at these last words, and addressed Pythius with his own lips, and asked him what the amount of his wealth was. Pythius answered thus:—

"Sire! I will not hide this matter from thee, nor make pretence that I do not know my riches; but as I know perfectly, I will declare all fully before thee. When the fame of thy journey reached us, and I heard thou wast coming to the coast of Greece, as I wished to give thee money for the war, I at once made count of my stores, and found them to be two thousand talents of silver, and of gold four millions of Daric staters,<sup>5</sup> all but

<sup>1</sup> Celænæ, which abounds in remains of antiquity, is situated near the source of the southern or main stream of the Mæander.

<sup>2</sup> Silenus, originally applied as a proper name to the oldest and most famous of the satyrs, was used afterwards as a common appellation for those monsters generally.

<sup>3</sup> Antiochus the Arcadian, who had seen this plane-tree, declared that it was so small it would scarcely shade a grasshopper. He, however, may well be suspected of unfairness,

since his object was to decry the resources of Persia.

<sup>4</sup> The golden vine was even more famous than the plane-tree. It is said to have been the work of Theodore the Samian. The bunches of grapes were imitated by means of the most costly precious stones. It overshadowed the couch on which the kings slept.

<sup>5</sup> The stater was the only gold coin known to the Greeks generally. It was adopted by them from the Asiatics, from whom their gold was

seven thousand. All this I willingly make over to thee as a gift ; and when it is gone, my slaves and my estates in land will be wealth enough for my wants."

This speech charmed Xerxes, and he replied : " My Lydian friend, since I left Persia there is no one but thyself who has either desired to entertain my army, or come forward of his own free will to offer me money for the war. Thou hast done both, feasting my troops magnificently, and now making offer of a noble sum of money. In return, this is what I will bestow on thee. Thou shalt be my sworn friend from this day ; and the seven thousand Darics which are wanting to make up thy four millions I will supply, so that the full amount may be thine, and that thou mayest owe the completion of the round sum to me. Continue to enjoy all that thou hast hitherto acquired ; and be sure to remain ever such as thou art now. If thou dost, thou wilt not repent of it so long as thy life endures."



When Xerxes had so spoken and had made good his promises to Pythius, he pressed forward upon his march ; and came to Colossæ, a Phrygian city of great size, situated at a spot where the river Lycus plunges into a chasm and disappears. This river, after running underground a distance of about five furlongs, reappears once more, and empties itself into the Mæander. Leaving Colossæ, the army approached the borders of Phrygia, where it abuts on Lydia ; there they came to a city called Cydrära, where was a pillar set up by Cræsus, with an inscription showing the boundaries of the two countries. Where it quits Phrygia and enters Lydia the road divides ; the way on the left leads into Caria, on the right to Sardis. If you follow this route, you must cross the Mæander, and then pass by the city

#### PERSIAN GOLD DARIC.

in the earlier time entirely derived. The staters of different countries differed slightly in weight and value. The Persian Daric was a gold coin very like the stater : it weighed about 123·7 grains, and was consequently worth not quite twenty-two shillings (£1 1s. 10½d.). Pythius

therefore, according to the statement of Herodotus, possessed gold coin to the value of £4,339,546. His 2,000 talents of silver would be worth £487,500 ; so that the entire sum which Pythius offered to Xerxes would be a little short of five millions of our money (£4,827,046).



Callātēbus, where the men live who make honey out of wheat and the tamarisk. Xerxes, who chose this way, found here a plane-tree so beautiful, that he presented it with golden ornaments, and put it under the care of one of his Immortals. The day after, he entered Sardis, the Lydian capital. Here his first thought was to send off heralds into Greece, to demand earth and water, and to require that preparations should be made everywhere to feast the king. To Athens indeed and to Sparta he sent no such demand; but these cities excepted, his messengers went everywhere. Now the reason why he sent for earth and water to states which had already refused was this: he thought that although they had refused when Darius made the demand, they would now be too frightened to venture to say him nay. So he sent his heralds, wishing to know for certain how it would be. Xerxes next made preparations to advance to Abūdōs, where the bridge across the Hellespont from Asia to Europe was lately finished. Midway between Sestos and Madýtus in the Hellespontine Chersonese, and right opposite Abydos, there is a rocky tongue of land which runs out into the sea. This is the place where no long time afterwards the Greeks under Xanthippus, the Athenian, took Artajctes, a Persian, who was at that time governor of Sestos, and nailed him living to a plank. Towards this tongue of land then, the men to whom the work was assigned carried out a double bridge from Abydos; and while the Phœnicians constructed one line with cables of white flax, the Egyptians in the other used ropes of papyrus. Now it is seven furlongs across from Abydos to the opposite coast. When, therefore, the channel had been bridged successfully, it happened that a great storm arose and broke the whole work to pieces, and destroyed all that had been done. When Xerxes heard of it, he was full of wrath, and at once gave orders that the Hellespont should receive three hundred lashes, and that a pair of fetters should be cast into it. Nay, I have even heard it said, that he bade the branders take their irons and therewith brand the Hellespont. It is certain that he commanded those who scourged the waters to utter, as they lashed them, these barbarian and wicked words: "Thou bitter water, thy lord lays on thee this punishment because thou hast wronged him without a cause, having suffered no evil at his hands. Verily King Xerxes will cross thee, whether thou wilt or

no. Well dost thou deserve that no man should honour thee with sacrifice; for thou art of a truth a treacherous and unsavoury river." While the sea was thus punished by his orders, he commanded also that the overseers of the work should lose their heads. Then those whose business it was executed the unpleasing task laid upon them; and other master-builders were set over the work, who accomplished it thus:—

They joined together triremes and penteconters, 360 to support the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea, and 314 to sustain the other; these they placed at right angles to the sea, and in the direction of the current of the Hellespont, relieving by these means the tension of the shore cables.<sup>1</sup> Having joined the vessels, they moored them with anchors of unusual size, that the vessels of the bridge towards the Euxine might resist the winds which blow from within the straits, and that those of the more western bridge facing the Ægean might withstand the winds which set in from the south and from the south-east. A gap was left in the penteconters in no fewer than three places, to afford a passage for such light craft as chose to enter or leave the Euxine. When all this was done they made the cables taut from the shore, by the help of wooden capstans. This time, moreover, instead of using the two materials separately, they assigned to each bridge six cables, two of which were of white flax, while four were of papyrus. Both cables were of the same size and quality; but the flaxen were the heavier, weighing not less than a talent the cubit. When the bridge across the channel was complete, trunks of trees were sawn into planks, which were

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus considers the short cables to be the real bridge, and the ships to be only a support rendered necessary by the unusual width of the channel. He has in his mind the bridges over rivers, common in Persia, where, if the stream was narrow, the ropes passed from shore to shore required no support at all; if it was wider, they had to be sustained by boats, or some other contrivance. The ships sustaining the ropes were moored (he says) parallel to the stream of the Hellespont, and so *at right angles* with the Euxine, the longest direction of

which he knew to be from east to west. Triremes and penteconters were used indifferently in the work, the greatest number in the upper bridge, either because the channel was wider at that part, or because, to meet the full force of the current, greater strength was required. *All* the ships were moored stem and stern down the stream of the Hellespont, which here runs with considerable rapidity. Probably they almost touched one another, except in the three places where an interval was left.

cut to the width of the bridge, and these were laid side by side upon the tightened cables, and then fastened on the top. This done, brushwood was brought, and arranged upon the planks, after which earth was heaped upon the brushwood, and the whole trodden down into a solid mass. Lastly, a bulwark was set up on either side of this causeway, of such a height as to prevent the beasts of burden and the horses from seeing over it and taking fright at the water.

Now when all was prepared—the bridges, and the works at Athos, the breakwaters about the mouths of the cutting, which were made to hinder the surf from blocking up the entrance,<sup>1</sup> and the cutting itself; and when the news came to Xerxes that this last was completely finished, —then at length the host, after wintering at Sardis, began its march towards Abydos, fully equipped, on the first approach of spring. At the moment of departure, the sun suddenly quitted his place in heaven, and disappeared, though there were no clouds in sight, but the sky was clear.<sup>2</sup> Day was thus turned into night; where upon Xerxes, who saw and remarked all this, was seized with alarm, and sending at once for the Magi, inquired of them the meaning of this strange appearance. They replied, “God is foreshowing to the Greeks the eclipse of their cities; for the sun foretells for them, and the moon for us.” So Xerxes, thus instructed, went on his way rejoicing much.

### (iii.) XERXES' MARCH FROM SARDIS TO THERMA, B.C. 480.

The army had begun its march, when Pythius, greatly alarmed at this appearance in the sky, and emboldened by his gifts, came to Xerxes and said, “Grant me, my lord, a favour which is to thee a little thing, but to me of

<sup>1</sup> When these breakwaters were allowed to fall into decay, the two ends of the canal would soon be silted up, and disappear. Hence the comparative obliteration of the cutting at its two extremities.

<sup>2</sup> Astronomers declare that there was no eclipse of the sun visible in Western Asia this year, but that

there was one the year before, in the spring, April 19th. Herodotus may perhaps have understood of the setting forth from Sardis what was told him of the departure from Susa in the spring of the preceding year. It may then have been his own conjecture that the prodigy frightened Pythius.

great account." Then Xerxes, to whom nothing was so unexpected as the prayer which Pythius in fact preferred, promised to grant him whatever he wished, and commanded him to speak his wish freely. So Pythius, full of courage, went on to say :—

"O my lord ! thy servant has five sons ; and as it happens all are called upon to join thee in this march against Greece. I beseech thee, have compassion upon my years ; let one of my sons, the eldest, remain behind, to be my prop and stay, and the guardian of my wealth. Take with thee the other four ; and when thou hast done all that is in thy heart, mayest thou come back in safety."

Then Xerxes was greatly angered, and replied to him : "Wretch ! darest thou speak to me of thy son, when I am on the march against Greece myself, with sons, and brothers, and kinsmen, and friends ? Thou, who art my slave, and art in duty bound to follow me with all thy household, thy wife not excepted ! Know that a man's spirit dwells in his ears, and when it hears good things, straightway it fills all his body with delight ; but no sooner does it hear the contrary than it heaves and swells with passion. As when thou didst good deeds and madest good offers to me, thou wast not able to boast of having outdone the king in bounties, so now when thou art changed and grown impertinent, thou shalt not receive all thy deserts, but less. For thyself and four of thy five sons, the entertainment which I had of thee shall gain protection ; but as for him to whom thou clingest above the rest, the forfeit of his life shall be thy punishment." Forthwith he commanded those to whom such tasks were assigned to find the eldest of the sons of Pythius, cut his body in two, and place the two halves, one on the right, the other on the left of the great road, so that the army might march out between them. Then the king's orders were obeyed ; and the army marched out. First went the baggage-bearers and the beasts, and then a vast crowd of many nations mingled together without any intervals, amounting to more than half the army. After these troops an empty space was left to separate between them and the king. In front of the king went first a thousand horsemen, picked men of the Persian nation, then spearmen a thousand, next chosen troops, with their spear-heads pointing towards

the ground—next ten of the sacred horses called Nisæan, all splendidly caparisoned. After the sacred horses came the holy chariot of Zeus,<sup>1</sup> drawn by eight milk-white steeds, with the charioteer on foot behind holding the reins; for no mortal is ever allowed to mount the car. Next came Xerxes himself, riding in a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses, with his charioteer, a Persian, standing by his side.

Thus rode Xerxes forth from Sardis; but every now and then, when the fancy took him, he would alight from his chariot and travel in a litter. Immediately behind the king there followed a body of a thousand spearmen, the noblest and bravest of the Persians, holding their lances in the usual manner<sup>2</sup>—then came a thousand Persian horse, picked men—then ten thousand, picked also out of the rest, serving on foot. Of these one thousand carried spears with golden pomegranates at their lower end instead of spikes; and they encircled the other nine thousand, who bore on their spears pomegranates of silver. The spearmen, too, who pointed their lances towards the ground, had golden pomegranates; and the thousand Persians who followed close after Xerxes had golden apples.<sup>3</sup> Behind the ten thousand footmen came a body of Persian cavalry, also ten thousand; after this there was again a space of two furlongs; then the rest of the army followed in a confused crowd.

After leaving Lydia the army marched towards the river Caïcus and the land of Mysia. Beyond the Caïcus the road passed through the Atarnean plain to the city of Carēnē. Thence the troops advanced across the plain of Thebē, passing Adramyttium and Antandrus; then, with Mount Ida on the left,<sup>4</sup> it entered the land of Ilium. On this march the Persians suffered loss; for as they bivouacked

<sup>1</sup> The sacred chariot of Zeus (Ormuzd) is mentioned by Xenophon in his description of the train of Cyrus. The white horses had golden yokes, and were adorned with garlands.

<sup>2</sup> That is, with the point upward.

<sup>3</sup> In the sculptures at Persepolis, the spearmen, who evidently represent the body-guard of the king, have the lower extremity of their spears ornamented with a ball, which may be either an apple or a pome-

granate. They bear their spears erect.

<sup>4</sup> The true Ida must have been left considerably to the right, the army crossing the ridge which extends from it westward and terminates in Cape *Baba*. Herodotus appears to have given the name of Ida to the highlands which close in the valley of the Scamander on the left.

during the night at the foot of Ida, a storm of thunder and lightning burst upon them, and killed no small number. On reaching the Scamander, which was the first stream of all that they had crossed since leaving Sardis, whose water failed them and was insufficient to satisfy the thirst of men and cattle,<sup>1</sup> Xerxes ascended into the Pergāmus of Priam,<sup>2</sup> since he longed to see that place. When he had seen and inquired into everything, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to Athēnē of Ilium, while the Magi poured libations to the heroes of the place. The next morning the host set off with daylight, and reached Abydos.

Here Xerxes wished to review his host. There was a throne of white marble on a hill near the city, which the people of Abydos had prepared beforehand, by the king's bidding, for his use; on this Xerxes took his seat, and, gazing down upon the shore below, beheld at one view his land forces and his ships. Then he was eager to see a sailing-match among his ships, which accordingly took place; it was won by the Phœnicians of Sidon, much to the joy of Xerxes, who was delighted alike with the race and with his army. As he looked and saw the whole Hellespont covered with the vessels of his fleet, and all the shore and every plain about Abydos full of men, Xerxes congratulated himself on his good fortune; but after a while he wept. Then when Artabanus, the king's uncle (who at the first so freely spoke his mind to the king, and advised him not to lead his army against Greece), heard that Xerxes was in tears, he went to him, and said:—

“How different, sire, is what thou art now doing from what thou didst a little while ago! Then thou didst congratulate thyself; and now, behold! thou weepest.”

“There came on me,” said Xerxes, “a sudden pity, when I thought of the shortness of man's life, and considered that of all this mighty host, not one will be alive when a hundred years are gone.”

“Yet there are sadder things in life than that,” returned the other. “Short as our time is, there is no man, of this host or elsewhere, so happy as not to have felt the wish

<sup>1</sup> Though the Scamander of Herodotus (the modern *Mendere*) has a bed from 200 to 300 feet broad, yet the stream in the dry season is reduced to a slender brook not more than three feet deep.

<sup>2</sup> By the “Pergamus of Priam” is to be understood the acropolis of New Ilium, which claimed, and was believed till after the time of Alexander, to stand upon the site of the ancient city.

—not once, but many a time—that he were dead and not alive. Calamities fall on us; sicknesses vex and harass us, and make life, short though it be, seem long. So death, through the misery of our life, is a blessed refuge to our race: and God, who gives us the tastes that we enjoy of pleasant times, is seen to be jealous even in his gift.”

“True,” said Xerxes; “human life is even such as thou dost paint it, Artabanus! For this reason let us turn our thoughts from it, and not dwell on what is sad, when pleasant things are in hand. Tell me rather,—if the vision which we saw had not appeared so plainly to thyself, wouldst thou have been still of the same mind as of old, and have continued to dissuade me from warring against Greece, or wouldst thou think differently now? Come, honestly tell me this.”

“Sire!” replied the other, “may the dream which hath appeared to us have such issue as we both desire! For my part, I am still full of fear, and have scarce power to control myself, when I consider all our dangers, and see that the two things which are of all-importance are alike opposed to thee.”

“Good friend!” said Xerxes in reply, “what two things dost thou mean? Does my land army seem to thee too small in number, and will the Greeks, thinkest thou, bring into the field a more numerous host? Or is our fleet weaker than theirs? Or art thou afraid of both? If in thy judgment we fall short in either, it were easy to bring together with all speed a second armament.”

“Sire!” said Artabanus, “it is not possible that any man of sense should find fault with the size of thy army or the number of thy ships. The more thou addest to these, the more hostile will those two things whereof I speak become. Those two things are the land and the sea. In all the wide sea there is not, I imagine, anywhere a harbour large enough to receive thy vessels, if a storm arise, and afford them sure protection. And yet thou wilt want, not one such harbour only, but many in succession, along the entire coast by which thou art advancing. In default then of such harbours, it is well to bear in mind that chance rules men, not men chance. Such is the first of the two dangers; now I will speak to thee of the second. The land too is thine enemy; for if no one resists thy advance, as thou

goest further and further, insensibly lured on (for who is ever satisfied with success?), thou wilt find it more and more hostile. Should nothing else withstand thee, yet the mere distance, greater as time goes on, will at last produce a famine. Surely it is best for men, when they form their plans, to be timid and imagine all calamities, but when the time for action comes, then to deal boldly."

To this Xerxes answered: "There is reason, Artabanus, in all that thou hast said; but I pray thee, fear not everything alike, nor count up every risk. For if in each matter that comes up thou wilt look to every chance, thou wilt get nothing done. Far better to have a stout heart always, and take one's share of evils, than to be ever fearing what may happen, and never meet mischance. Moreover, if thou wilt oppose whatever is said by others, without showing thyself the safe course which we ought to take, thou art as likely to mislead us as those whose advice is different; thou art but on a par with them. And as for that safe course, how canst thou show it us when thou art but man? I do not believe thou canst. Success for the most part attends the bold, not those who weigh everything, and are slow to venture. Thou seest to how great a height the power of Persia reaches—never would it have grown to this, if those who sat upon the throne before me had been of like mind with thee, or even, though not like-minded, had listened to advice like this. By brave ventures they extended their sway; great empires can be conquered only by great risks. We follow then the example of our fathers in this march; and we set forward at the best season of the year; so, when we have brought Europe under us, we shall return, without suffering from famine or any other calamity. For while we carry vast stores of provisions with us, we shall have as well the grain of all the countries and the nations we attack; since our march is not against a pastoral people, but against tillers of the soil."

Then Artabanus said: "If, sire, thou art determined that we fear nothing, at least hearken to advice I offer; for when questions are so many, one cannot but have much to say. Thou knowest that Cyrus the son of Cambyzes reduced and made tributary to the Persians all the Ionians, except those of Attica.<sup>1</sup> Now my advice is,

<sup>1</sup> This, of course, was not true; ignorant of all the Ionians of Europe but the Persians might be supposed except the Athenians.



on no account to lead these men against their fathers ; since we are well able to overcome them without such aid. If we take them with us to the war, their choice lies between showing themselves the most unjust of men by helping to enslave their fatherland, or the most just by joining in the struggle to keep it free. If then they choose the side of injustice, they will do us but little good ; while if they determine to act justly, they may greatly injure thy host. Lay to heart the old proverb, which says truly, 'The beginning and end are not always seen together.'

"Artabanus," answered Xerxes, "there is nothing in all that thou hast said wherein thou art so wholly wrong as this, that thou suspectest the loyalty of the Ionians. Have they not given us the surest proof of their attachment,—a proof which thou didst witness, and all those who fought with Darius against the Scythians? When it lay in their power to save or to destroy the whole Persian army, they dealt by us honourably and loyally, and did us no harm at all. Besides, they will leave behind them in our country their wives, their children, and their properties—can it then be conceived that they will attempt rebellion? Fear not, therefore, this ; but keep a brave heart and uphold my house and empire. To thee, and thee alone, do I entrust my sovereignty."

After Xerxes had thus spoken, and had sent Artabanus away to Susa, he summoned all the Persians of most repute, and addressed them thus :—

"Persians, I have brought you here to urge you to be men, and not to sully with disgrace the former deeds of the Persians, which are great and famous. Rather let us one and all exert ourselves to the uttermost ; for the matter concerns us all. Strain every nerve, then, I beseech you, in this war. Brave are the men we march against, if report says true ; and such that, if we conquer them, there is not a people in the world which will venture thereafter to withstand our arms. Now let us offer prayers to the gods who watch over Persia, and then cross the channel."

All that day the preparations for the passage continued ; and on the next they burnt all kinds of spices on the bridges, and strewed the way with myrtle-boughs, while they waited anxiously for the sun, which they hoped to see rising. And now the sun appeared ; and Xerxes took a golden goblet and poured a libation into the sea, praying

the while, with his face turned towards the sun, "that no misfortune might befall him to hinder his conquest of Europe, until he had penetrated to its utmost boundaries." After he had prayed, he threw the golden cup into the Hellespont, and with it a golden bowl, and a Persian sword of the kind they call *ācīnācēs*.<sup>1</sup> I cannot say for certain whether he threw these things into the deep as an offering to the Sun, or whether he had repented of having scourged the Hellespont, and thought by his gifts to make amends to the sea.



ACINACES.

When his offerings were made, the army began to cross; and the foot-soldiers, with the horsemen, passed over by the bridge which lay towards the Euxine, while the beasts and the camp-followers passed by the other, which looked on the Ægean. First went the Ten Thousand Persians, all with garlands on their heads; and after them a mixed multitude of many nations. These crossed upon the first day. Next day the horsemen began the passage; and with them went the soldiers who carried their spears with the point downwards, garlanded, like the Ten Thousand; then came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot; next Xerxes with his lancers and the thousand horse; then the rest. At the same time the ships sailed over to the opposite shore. According, however, to another account which I have heard, the king crossed last. As soon as Xerxes had reached the European side, he stood gazing at his army as they crossed under the lash. For seven days and seven nights the army crossed, without rest or pause. It is said that here, after Xerxes had made the passage, a Greek of the Hellespont exclaimed:—

"Why, O Zeus, dost thou, in the likeness of a Persian, and with the name of Xerxes in place of Zeus, lead all mankind to the destruction of Greece? It would have been as easy for thee to destroy it without their aid!"

When the whole army had crossed, and the troops were upon their march, a strange marvel appeared, of which the king took no account, though its meaning

<sup>1</sup> The Persian *acīnācēs* was a shown above. Cf. Hor. *Odes* i. short straight sword or dirk, as 27, 5.

was not difficult to guess. It was this—a mare brought forth a hare. Hereby it was shown plainly, that Xerxes would lead his host out against Greece with mighty pomp and splendour, but to reach the spot again from which he started would run for his life. There had also been another marvel, while Xerxes was still at Sardis—a mule dropped a foal, neither male nor female; this too he disregarded.

So Xerxes, heedless of both omens, marched forwards; his land army with him. But the ships held an opposite course, and, sailing to the mouth of the Hellespont, made their way along the shore. For the fleet proceeded westward, and made for Cape Sarpēdon, with orders to await there the coming of the troops; whilst the land army marched eastward along the Chersonese, leaving on the right the tomb of Hellē,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Athāmas, and on the left the city of Cardia; they soon skirted the shores of the Gulf of Mēlas, and then crossed the river Melas, whence the gulf takes its name, the waters of which they found too scanty to supply the host. From this point their march was to the west; and they came to Doriscus. This name is given to a beach and a large plain upon the coast of Thrace, through the middle of which flows the strong stream of the Hēbrus. Here was the royal fort which is also called Doriscus, where Darius had maintained a Persian garrison ever since he attacked the Scythians. This place seemed to Xerxes a convenient spot for reviewing and numbering his soldiers, which accordingly he did. The sea-captains, who had brought the fleet to Doriscus, were ordered to take the vessels to the beach adjoining, and to haul them ashore for refitting, while Xerxes was numbering the soldiers.

The exact number of the troops of each nation I cannot give with certainty—for it is not mentioned by any one—but the whole land army together was found to amount to 1,700,000 men. The way in which the numbering was done was this. A body of ten thousand men was brought to a certain place, and the men were made to stand close together; then a circle was drawn round them, and the men were dismissed: then where the circle had

<sup>1</sup> The more general tradition was that Helle fell into the sea to which she gave her name; but, according to some, she arrived in the Chersonese, and died there—Hellānicus says at

Pactya. We may conclude that the tomb shown as hers was near this city, which was on the east coast, and so to the right of the army.

been, a fence was built about half a man's height; and the enclosure was filled continually with fresh troops, till the whole army had thus been numbered. When the numbering was over, the troops were drawn up according to their several nations.

The Persians wore on their heads the soft hat called



A MEDIAN DRESS (from Persepolis).

the tiara,<sup>1</sup> and about their bodies, tunics with sleeves, of varied colours, with iron fish-scales on them. Their legs were covered with trousers; and they bore wicker

<sup>1</sup> The hat or cap here described, and called by Herodotus indifferently *kurbasia* and *tiara*, seems to be the same with the plain "round-topped cap, projecting at the top a little over the brows," which is the ordinary head-dress of those who wear the *Persian* costume in the

sculptures of Persepolis. In other respects the description of Herodotus does not show any great correspondence with the Persepolitan representations. The weapons indeed are the same. The spear, the bow, the quiver at the back, and the dagger hanging from the girdle on the right

shields for bucklers; their quivers hung at their backs, and their arms were a short spear, a bow of unusual size, and arrows of reed. They had daggers suspended from their girdles along their right thighs. Otānēs, the father of Xerxes' wife, Amēstris, was their leader. The marshalling and numbering of the troops had been committed to the commanders; and by them were appointed the captains over a thousand, and the captains over ten thousand; but the leaders of ten men, or a hundred, were named by the captains over ten thousand. There were other officers also, who gave the orders to the various ranks and nations. Over these commanders themselves, and over the whole of the infantry, there were set six generals: Mardonius; Tritantæchmēs, son of the Artabanus who gave his advice against the war with Greece; Smerdömēnēs—these two were the sons of Darius' brothers, and thus were cousins of Xerxes; Masistēs, son of Darius and Atossa; Gergis; and Megabyzus. The whole of the infantry was under the command of these generals, excepting the Ten Thousand. The Ten Thousand, who were all Persians and picked men, were led by Hydarnēs. They were called "the Immortals," because if one of their body failed, either by death or by disease, his place was filled at once, so that their number was at no time either greater or less than 10,000. Of all the troops the Persians were adorned with the greatest magnificence, and they were the most valiant. Besides their arms, which have been already described, they glittered all over with gold, vast quantities of which they wore about their persons. They were followed by a numerous train of attendants handsomely dressed. Camels and other beasts carried their provisions, apart from those of the other soldiers.

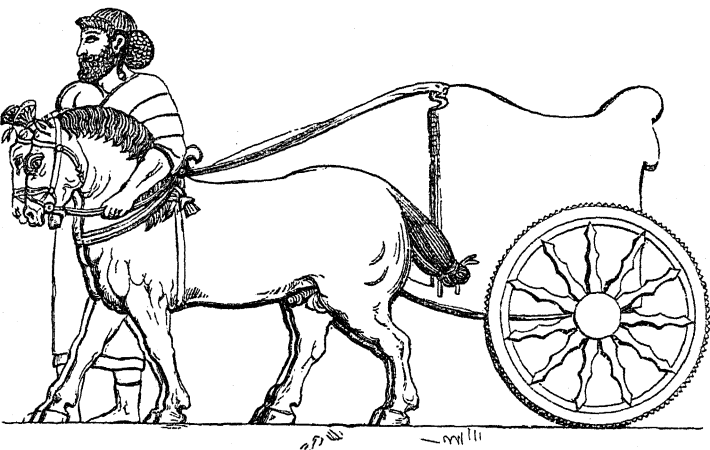
The following nations at this time sent horsemen:—

The Persians; the wandering tribe known as Sagartians, a people Persian in language; the Medes and Cissians, the Indians, the Bactrians and Caspians, the Libyans, the Caspeirians and Paricanians, and the Arabians: these last

side, are all found. The spears, however, are not "short," being little less than the length of the Greek, *i.e.* about seven feet; nor are the bows long, but what we should call very short, about *three* feet. Coats of scale armour, common in the As-

syrian sculptures, are nowhere found. Trousers are worn; the only shield found is very like the Boeotian. Herodotus probably describes the Persian costume of *his own day*, as Xenophon of his.

rode on camels, as swift as horses. The number of the horse was 80,000, without camels or chariots. All were marshalled in squadrons, excepting the Arabians; these were placed last, to avoid frightening the horses, which cannot endure the sight of the camel. The horse was commanded by Armamithras and Tithæus, sons of Datis. The other commander, Pharnūchēs, who was to have been their colleague, had been left ill at Sardis; at the moment that he was leaving the city, a sad mischance befell him: a dog ran under the feet of his horse while he was mounted; and the horse, not seeing it coming, was startled, and,



PERSIAN CHARIOTEER.

rearing bolt upright, threw his rider. After this fall Pharnuches spat blood, and fell into a consumption. As for the horse, he was treated at once as Pharnuches ordered; the attendants took him to the spot where he had thrown his master, and there cut off his four legs at the hough. Thus Pharnuches lost his command.

The triremes amounted in all to 1,207, and were supplied by the following nations:—

The Phœnicians, with the Syrians of Palestine, sent 300 vessels, the Egyptians 200, the Cyprians 150, the Cilicians 100, the Pamphylians 30, the Lycians 50, the Dorians of

Asia 30, the Carians 70, the Ionians 100, the Islanders<sup>1</sup> 17, the Æolians 60, and the Hellespontines from the Pontus, who are colonists of the Ionians and Dorians, 100. On board every ship there were soldiers, Persians, Medes, or Sacæ. The Phœnician ships were the best sailers in the fleet, and the Sidonian the best of the Phœnicians. The contingent of each nation, whether in the fleet or in the land army, had at its head a native leader; though in reality it was not as commanders that they accompanied the army, but as mere slaves, like the rest. The fleet was commanded by the following: Ariabignēs, son of Darius; Prēxaspēs; Mēgabazus; and Achæmēnēs, son of Darius. Ariabignes, whose mother was a daughter of Gobryas, was at the head of the Ionian and Carian ships; Achæmenes, who was full brother of Xerxes, of the Egyptian; the rest of the fleet was commanded by the other two. Besides the triremes, there was an assemblage of thirty-oared and fifty-oared galleys, of boats called "cercūri,"<sup>2</sup> and transports for conveying horses, amounting in all to 3,000.

I must speak too of Artemīsia,<sup>3</sup> whose participation in the attack upon Greece, although she was a woman, excites my special wonder. She had obtained the sovereign power after her husband's death; and, though she had now a son grown up, yet her brave spirit and manly daring sent her forth to the war, when no need required. Artemisia was on her father's side a Halicarnassian, though by her mother a Cretan. She was queen of the Halicarnassians, the men of Cōs, of Nisýrus, and Calydna; and the five triremes which she sent to the Persians were, next to the Sidonian, the most famous ships in the fleet. She gave Xerxes sounder advice than any of his other allies. The cities which she ruled were all Dorian; for the Halicarnassians were colonists from Trœzēn, while the remainder were from Epidaurus.

<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace.

<sup>2</sup> Cercūri were light boats of unusual length. They are said to have been invented by the Cyprians.

<sup>3</sup> The special notice taken of Artemisia is undoubtedly due in part to her having been queen of Halicarnassus, Herodotus' native place.

Though he became an exile from his country, and though the grandson of Artemisia, Lygdāmis, became a tyrant in the worst sense of the term, yet with Herodotus patriotism triumphs over every other motive, and he does ample justice to the character of one who, he felt, had conferred honour on his birthplace.

Now, when the numbering and marshalling of the host was ended, Xerxes conceived a wish to go himself throughout the forces, and see everything with his own eyes. Accordingly he traversed the ranks seated in his chariot, and, going from nation to nation, made many inquiries, while his scribes wrote down the answers ; till at last he had passed from end to end of the whole land army, both the horsemen and the foot. This done, he exchanged his chariot for a Sidonian galley, and, seated beneath a golden awning, sailed along the prows of all his vessels, which had now been hauled down and launched, while he made inquiries again, and caused the answers to be recorded. The captains took their ships about 400 feet from the shore, and there lay to, with their vessels in a single row, the prows facing the land, and with the fighting-men upon the decks accoutred as for war. The king sailed along in the open space between the ships and the shore, and so reviewed the fleet. After Xerxes had sailed down the whole line and was gone ashore, he sent for Dēmarātus, who accompanied him in his march upon Greece, and spoke to him thus :—

“Demaratus, it is my pleasure now to ask thee things I wish to know. Thou art a Greek, and, as I hear from the other Greeks no less than from thine own lips, thou art a native of a city which is not the meanest or the weakest in their land. Tell me, therefore, what thinkest thou? Will the Greeks lift a hand against us? My own judgment is that, even if all the Greeks and all the other men of the West were gathered in one place, they would not be able to abide my onset, not being of one mind. But I would fain know what thou thinkest.”

Thus Xerxes questioned ; and the other replied in his turn, “Sire ! is it thy will that I give thee a true answer, or one to please thee?” Then the king bade him speak the plain truth, and promised that he would not hold him in less favour than before. When Demaratus heard the promise, he spoke thus :—

“Sire ! thou biddest me at all risks speak the truth, and not say what will one day prove me to have lied, and I answer thus. Want has at all times dwelt with us in our land, while Valour is an ally whom we have gained by dint of wisdom and strict laws. Her aid enables us to drive out Want and escape thralldom. Brave are all Greeks who dwell in a Dorian land ; but what I am about to say does



not concern all, but the Lacedæmonians alone. First, then, come what may, they will never accept thy terms, which would reduce Greece to slavery ; and further, they are sure to join battle with thee, though all the rest of the Greeks should submit to thy will. As for their numbers, do not ask how many they are, that their resistance should be possible ; for if a thousand of them should take the field, they will meet thee in battle, and so will any number, be it less than this, or more."

When Xerxes heard this answer, he laughed and said :—

"Wild words, Demaratus ! A thousand men join battle with an army such as this ! Come then, wilt thou—who wast once, as thou sayest, their king—engage to fight this very day with ten men ? I trow not. And yet, if all thy fellow-citizens be indeed such as thou sayest, thou oughtest, as their king, by thine own country's usages,<sup>1</sup> to be ready to fight with twice the number. If then each one of them be a match for ten of my soldiers, I may well call on thee to be a match for twenty. So wouldst thou prove the truth of what thou hast now said. If, however, you Greeks, who vaunt yourselves so much, are of a truth men like those whom I have seen about my court, as thyself, Demaratus, and the others with whom I converse,—if you are really men of this sort and size, how is the speech that thou hast uttered more than an empty boast ? For, to go to the very verge of likelihood,—how could a thousand men, or ten thousand, nay, or fifty thousand, particularly if they were all free alike, and not under one lord,—how could such a force, I say, stand against a host like mine ? Let them be five thousand, and we shall have more than a thousand men to each one of theirs. If indeed, like our troops, they had a single master, their fear of him might make them courageous beyond their natural bent ; or they might be driven by lashes against an enemy which far outnumbered them. But left to their own free choice, assuredly they will not do so. For mine own part, I believe that, if Greeks had to contend with Persians only, with numbers equal on both sides, the Greeks would find it hard to stand their ground. We too have among us such men as those of whom thou speakest—not many indeed,

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is apparently to the "double portion" whereto the kings were entitled at banquets ; and perhaps to their (supposed) "double vote."

but still we possess a few. Thus, some of my body-guard would be willing to engage singly with three Greeks. But this thou dost not know; and therefore talkest folly."

Demaratus answered him: "I knew, sire, at the outset that, if I told thee the truth, my speech would displease thine ears. But as thou didst require me to answer thee with all truthfulness, I informed thee what Spartans will do. In this I spoke not from any love I bear them—for none knows better than thyself what my love towards them is at the present time—they have robbed me of my rank and my ancestral honours, and made me a homeless exile, whom thy father received, bestowing on me shelter and sustenance. What likelihood is there that a man of understanding should be unthankful for kindness shown him, and not cherish it in his heart? For mine own self, I pretend not to cope with ten men nor with two,—nay, had I the choice, I would rather not fight with one. But, if need appeared, or if there were any great cause urging me, I would contend with right good will against one of those who boast themselves a match for any three Greeks. So, too, the Lacedæmonians, when they fight singly, are as good men as any in the world, and when they fight together, are the bravest of all. For though they be free men, they are not in all ways free: Law is the master whom they own; and this master they fear more than thy slaves fear thee. Whatever he commands they do; and his commandment is always the same: he forbids them to flee in battle, whatever the number of their foes, and bids them to stand firm, and either to conquer or to die. If in these words, sire, I seem to thee to speak folly, I am content evermore to hold my peace. I had not spoken now unless compelled by thee. At least, I pray that all may be according to thy wish."

Such was Demaratus' answer; and Xerxes was not angry with him at all, but only laughed, and sent him away with words of kindness.

After this, when he had made Mascāmēs governor of Doriscus, setting aside the governor appointed by Darius, Xerxes started with his army, and marched upon Greece through Thrace. This Mascames was a man of such merit that gifts were sent him yearly by the king as a special favour, because he excelled all the other governors that had been appointed either by Xerxes or Darius. In like manner,

Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, sent gifts yearly to the descendants of Mascames. Persian governors had been established in Thrace and about the Hellespont before the march of Xerxes began; but, after the expedition was over, they were all driven from their towns by the Greeks, except the governor of Doriscus; no one succeeded in driving out Mascames, though many made the attempt. For this reason the gifts are sent him every year by the Persian king.

On his way Xerxes forced all the nations through which he passed to take part in the expedition. For the whole country as far as the frontiers of Thessaly had been enslaved and made tributary to the king by the conquests of Megabazus, and, more lately, of Mardonius. After crossing the channel of the Lissus, which was not large enough to supply water for the army, but was drunk up and failed, Xerxes passed several Greek cities and famous lakes. Near Abdēra he crossed the river Nestus, where it reaches the sea. Proceeding on his way, he passed several cities, one with a lake nearly thirty furlongs round, full of fish, and very salt; of this the beasts only drank, but drained it dry.

When Xerxes had passed through the region of the Thracian tribes he came next to the Pierian fortresses. Here his line of march lay close by the walls, with the long high range of Pangæum upon his right, a tract in which there are mines both of gold and silver. He then marched through the country of the Pæonian tribes, which lay to the north of Pangæum, and, advancing westward, reached the river Strymon and the city Eion. After propitiating this stream by many magical ceremonies, the Persians crossed it by bridges made before their arrival, at a place called Ennea Hodoi or The Nine Ways,<sup>1</sup> in the territory of the Edonians. When they learnt that the name of the place was The Nine Ways, they took nine of the youths of the land and nine maidens, and buried them alive on the spot. On reaching Acanthus, the Persian king, seeing the great zeal of the Acanthians for his service, took them into the number of his sworn friends, sent them as a present a Median dress, and besides commended them highly. It was while he remained here that Artachæēs, who was

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Amphipölis. The Athenian town had not been founded when Herodotus left Greece for Italy, which may account for his omission to mention it.

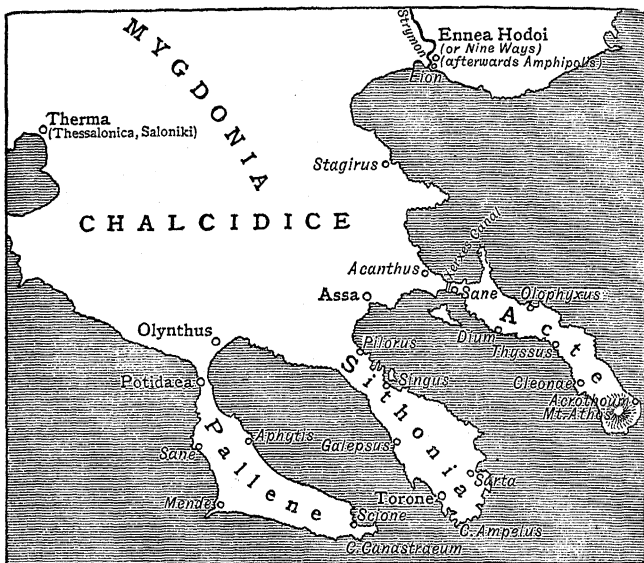
in charge of the canal, a man in high repute with Xerxes, and of the royal house by birth, fell ill and died. He was the tallest of all the Persians, being only four fingers short of five cubits, royal measure,<sup>1</sup> and had a stronger voice than any other man. Xerxes was greatly afflicted at the mischance, and carried him to the tomb and buried him with all magnificence; while the whole army helped to raise a barrow over his grave. The Acanthians, in obedience to an oracle, offer sacrifice to this Artachæes as a hero, invoking him in their prayers by name. King Xerxes sorrowed greatly over his death.

Now the Greeks who had to feed the army, and to entertain Xerxes, were brought to the very extremity of distress, and some of them were forced to forsake house and home. When the Thasians received and feasted the host, on account of their possessions upon the mainland, Antipater, one of the citizens of best repute, to whom the task was assigned, proved that the cost of the meal was four hundred talents of silver.<sup>2</sup> Estimates almost to the same amount were made by the superintendents in other cities. For the entertainment, which had been ordered long beforehand and was reckoned of much consequence, was such as I will now describe. No sooner did the heralds who brought the orders give their message, than in every city the inhabitants made a division of their stores of corn, and proceeded to grind flour of wheat and of barley for many months together. Besides this, they purchased the best cattle that they could find, and fattened them, and fed poultry and water-fowl in ponds and buildings, to be in readiness for the army; they prepared, too, gold and silver vases and drinking-cups, and whatever else is needed for the service of the table. These last preparations were made for the king only, and those who sat at their meals with him; for the rest of the army nothing was made ready beyond the food ordered. On the arrival of the Persians, Xerxes entered a tent ready pitched for the purpose and took his rest there, while the soldiers remained in the open air. When the dinner hour came, those who entertained the army had to work their hardest; while the guests ate to their hearts' content, and after passing the night at the place,

<sup>1</sup> That is, about 8 feet 2 inches.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly £100,000 of our money — a sum not far short of the whole annual revenue received by Athens from her allies under the rating of Aristidēs.

tore down the royal tent next morning, and seized its contents, and carried them all off, leaving nothing behind. On one of these occasions Megacræon of Abdera wittily recommended his countrymen "to go to the temples in a body, men and women alike, and there sit as suppliants, and beseech the gods that they would in future always spare them one-half of the woes which might threaten their peace—thanking them at the same time very warmly for



MAP OF CHALCIDIC PENINSULA.

their past goodness:—they had permitted Xerxes to be content with one meal in the day." For had the order been to provide breakfast for the king as well as dinner, the people must have fled from Abdera before Xerxes came, or, if they awaited his arrival, must have been brought to utter ruin. As it was, the nations, though suffering heavy pressure, complied nevertheless with the directions given.

At Acanthus Xerxes separated from his fleet, bidding

the captains sail on ahead and await his coming at Therma,<sup>1</sup> on the Thermaic Gulf, the place from which the bay takes its name. Through this town lay, he understood, his shortest road. The fleet, after leaving the king, sailed through the channel cut for it through Athos, and came into the bay on which lie the cities of Assa, Pilōrus, Singus, and Sarta; from all of which it received contingents. Thence it sailed on for the Thermaic Gulf, and rounding Cape Ampēlus, the promontory of the Torōnæans, passed among other Greek cities Torōnē, Galēpsus, and Olynthus, receiving from each a number of ships and men. From Cape Ampelus the fleet stretched across by a short course to Cape Canastræum, the point of the peninsula of Pallene that runs out furthest into the sea, and gathered fresh supplies of ships and men from Potidæa, Sciōnē, and other cities. Hence they again followed the coast, and so at length reached Therma, the appointed place. Xerxes, meanwhile, with his land force left Acanthus, and started for Therma, taking his way across the land. Upon this march the camels that carried the provisions of the army were set upon by lions,<sup>2</sup> which left their lairs and came down by night, but spared the men and the beasts of burden, while they made the camels their prey. I wonder what may have been the cause which compelled the lions to leave the other animals untouched and attack the camels, when they had never seen that beast before, nor had any knowledge of it.

From Therma Xerxes saw the Thessalian mountains, Olympus and Ossa,<sup>3</sup> which are of a wonderful height. Here, learning that there lay between them a narrow

<sup>1</sup> Therma was a place of small consequence, till under Cassander, the brother-in-law of Alexander (c. B.C. 305), it became Thessalonica, when it grew to be the most important city of these parts. It is still called Saloniki.

<sup>2</sup> Col. Mure ridicules this whole story of the lions, and denies that the lion can have ever been indigenous in Europe. He believes that "the creatures alluded to, if not altogether fictitious, may safely be classed as some species of lynx or wild cat." But Aristotle, a native of this district, makes the same statement as Herod-

otus (*Hist. Anim.* vi. 31); and Pliny follows him (*H. N.* viii. 16). Dio Chrysostom mentions that by his time (A.D. 120) lions had disappeared from Europe.

<sup>3</sup> In clear weather Olympus and Ossa are in full view from Therma (*Saloniki*), though the latter is more than seventy miles distant. Olympus is the highest of the Thessalian mountains. Its principal summit attains an elevation of above 9,000 feet. It is covered with snow during a great portion of the year. Ossa, to the south of the Penēus, is inferior in height, but even more striking in

gorge<sup>1</sup> through which the river Penēüs ran, where there was a road that gave an entrance into Thessaly, he wished to go by sea himself, and examine the river mouth. No sooner had he formed this wish than he acted on it. Embarking, as on all such occasions, aboard a Sidonian vessel, he gave the signal to the rest of the fleet to get under way, and quitting his land army, sailed to the Peneus. Here the view of the mouth caused him to wonder greatly; and, sending for his guides, he asked them whether it were possible to turn the course of the stream, and make it reach the sea at any other point. Now there is a tradition that Thessaly was in ancient times a lake, shut in on every side by huge hills. Ossa and Pēlion—ranges which join at the foot—do in fact enclose it upon the east, while Olympus forms a barrier on the north, Pindus on the west, and Othrys towards the south. The tract contained within these mountains, which is a deep basin, is called Thessaly. Many rivers pour their waters into it; but five of them are of more note than the rest—the Peneus, the Apīdānus, the Onochōnus, the Enīpēüs, and the Pamīsus. These streams flow down from the mountains which surround Thessaly, and, meeting in the plain, mingle their waters and discharge into the sea by a single outlet, a very narrow gorge. After the junction the other names disappear, and the river is known as the Peneus. It is said that of old this gorge did not exist; accordingly the rivers, which were then, like the Lake Boebēis, without names, but flowed with as much water as at present, made Thessaly a sea. The Thessalians tell us that the gorge through which the water escapes was caused by Poseidōn; and this is likely enough; at least, any man who believes that Poseidon causes earthquakes, and

appearance. It slightly exceeds 6,000 feet; but its conical peak, often capped with snow, and its well-wooded slopes, thickly covered with beeches, render it one of the most remarkable, as well as one of the most beautiful, of the Greek mountains.

<sup>1</sup> This description of the pass of Tempē, though brief, is remarkably accurate. "Tempe is not a vale—it is a narrow pass—and though extremely beautiful on account of the precipitous rocks on each side, the Peneus flowing deep

in the midst between the rich overhanging plane-woods, still its character is distinctly that of a ravine or gorge. In some parts the pass, which is five or six miles from end to end, is so narrow as merely to admit the road and the river; in others the rocks recede from the stream, and there is a little space of green meadow. The cliffs themselves are very lofty, and beautifully hung with creepers and other foliage" (*Lear's Tour in Albania*).

that chasms so produced are his handiwork, would say, on seeing this rent, that Poseidon did it. For it plainly appeared to me that the hills had been torn asunder by an earthquake. Xerxes therefore asked the guides if there were any other outlet by which the waters could reach the sea; they were well acquainted with the country, and made answer:—

“Sire, there is no other passage by which this stream can empty itself into the sea, but only this. For Thessaly is girt about with a circlet of hills.”

Xerxes is said to have replied:—

“The men of Thessaly are wise, and had good reason to change their minds in time,<sup>1</sup> and think of their own safety. For, not to speak of other reasons, they knew that they lived in a country which may easily be brought under and subdued. Nothing more is needed than to turn the river on their lands by an embankment which should fill up the gorge and force the stream from its present channel, and at once all Thessaly, except the mountains, would be under water.”

The king aimed in this speech at the sons of Aleuas, who were Thessalians, and had been the first of all the Greeks to make submission to him. He thought that they had made their friendly offers in the name of the whole people.

When Xerxes had viewed the place, and spoken thus, he went back to Therma. His stay in Pieria lasted for several days, during which a third part of his army was employed in cutting down the woods on the Macedonian mountain range, to give his forces free passage into Perrhæbia. At this time the heralds who had been sent into Greece to demand earth for the king returned to the camp, some of them empty-handed, others with earth and water. Among the number of those from whom earth and water were brought were the Thessalians, Dolopians, Ænians, Perrhæbians, Locrians, Magnetians, Mælians, Achæans of Phthiōtis, Thebans, and Boeotians generally, except those of Plataea and Thespiæ. These are the nations against whom the Greeks that had taken up arms to resist the barbarians swore the oath, which ran thus: “From all those of Greek

<sup>1</sup> Xerxes alludes here to the attempt which the Thessalians made to induce the Greeks to defend Thessaly, which was given up on the discovery of the inland route through Perrhæbia.



blood who delivered themselves up to the Persians without necessity, in times of prosperity we will take a tithe of their goods, and give it to the god at Delphi." So ran the words of the Greek oath.

#### (iv.) PREPARATIONS OF THE GREEKS TO MEET XERXES IN THESSALY.

King Xerxes had sent no heralds either to Athens or Sparta to ask earth and water. When Darius some time before sent messengers for this purpose, they were thrown at Athens into the pit of punishment,<sup>1</sup> at Sparta into a well, and bidden to take from there earth and water for themselves, and carry it to their king. On this account Xerxes did not send to ask them.

Now the expedition of the Persian king, though it was in name directed against Athens, threatened really the whole of Greece. Of this the Greeks were aware some time before; but they did not all view the matter in the same light. Some of them had given the Persians earth and water, and were emboldened on this account, deeming themselves thereby secured against harm from the barbarian army; while others, who had refused compliance, were thrown into extreme alarm. For whilst they considered all the ships in Greece too few to engage the enemy, it was plain that the greater number of states would take no part in the war, but warmly favoured the Medes. Here I feel constrained to deliver an opinion which most men will dislike, but which, as I think it true, I will not withhold. Had the Athenians, from fear of the approaching danger, quitted their country, or had they without quitting it submitted to the power of Xerxes, there would have been no attempt to resist the Persians by sea; in which case, the course of events by land would have been the following:—Though the Peloponnesians might have carried ever so many breastworks across the Isthmus, yet their allies would have fallen off from the Lacedæmonians, not by voluntary desertion, but because town after town must have been taken by the fleet of the barbarians; and so the Lace-

<sup>1</sup> The barathrum, or "pit of punishment," at Athens, was a deep hole, like a well, into which criminals were precipitated. Iron hooks were inserted in the sides, which tore the body in pieces as it fell. It corresponded to the Ceadas of the Lacedæmonians.

dæmonians would at last have stood alone, and, standing alone, would have displayed prodigies of valour, and perished nobly. Either they would have done thus, or else, before it came to that extremity, seeing one Greek state after another embrace the cause of the Medes, they would have come to terms with King Xerxes; and thus, either way, Greece would have been brought under Persia. For I cannot understand of what use the walls across the Isthmus could have been, if the king had had the mastery of the sea. If then it should be said that the Athenians were the saviours of Greece, it would not exceed the truth. For they truly held the scales; and whichever side they took must have won the day. They too it was who, when they had determined to maintain the freedom of Greece, roused to action those Greeks who had not gone over to the Medes; and so, next to the gods, *they* repulsed the invader. Even the terrible oracles which reached them from Delphi, and struck fear into their hearts, failed to persuade them to fly from Greece. They had the courage to remain faithful to their land, and await the coming of the foe.

When the Athenians, in their anxiety to consult the oracle, sent their messengers to Delphi, hardly had the envoys completed the customary rites about the sacred precinct, and taken their seats inside the sanctuary of the god, when the priestess, Aristonīcē, prophesied thus:—

“Wretches, why sit ye here? Fly, fly to the ends of creation,  
Quitting your homes, and the crags which your city crowns with  
her circlet.

Neither the head nor the body is firm in its place, nor at bottom  
Firm the feet, nor the hands; nor resteth the middle uninjured.  
All—all ruined and lost. Since fire, and impetuous Ares,  
Speeding along in a Syrian chariot, hastes to destroy her.

Not alone shalt thou suffer; full many the towers he will level,  
Many the shrines of the gods he will give to a fiery destruction.  
Even now they stand with dark sweat horribly dripping,  
Trembling and quaking for fear; and, lo! from the high roofs  
trickleth

Black blood, sign prophetic of hard distresses impending.

Get ye away from the temple; and brood on the ills that await  
ye!”<sup>1</sup>

When the Athenian messengers heard this reply, they

<sup>1</sup> The last expression is (perhaps mean “offer a bold heart to your purposely) ambiguous, and *may* ills.”

were filled with the deepest sorrow: and Timōn, one of the men of most mark among the Delphians, seeing how utterly depressed they were at the gloomy prophecy, advised them to take an olive-branch and, entering the sanctuary again, consult the oracle as suppliants. The Athenians followed this advice, and, going in once more, said: "Lord! we pray thee reverence these boughs of supplication which we carry in our hands, and deliver to us something more comforting concerning our country. Else we will not leave thy sanctuary, but will stay here till we die." Upon this the priestess gave them a second answer:—

'Pallas has not been able to soften the lord of Olympus,  
Though she has often prayed him, and urged him with excellent  
counsel.

Yet once more I address thee in words than adamant firmer.  
When the foe shall have taken whatever the limit of Cecrops<sup>1</sup>  
Holds within it, and all which divine Cithæron shelters,  
Then far-seeing Zeus grants this to the prayers of Athené:  
Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy children.  
Wait not the tramp of the horse, nor the footmen mightily moving  
Over the land, but turn your back to the foe, and retire ye.  
Yet shall a day arrive when ye shall meet him in battle.  
Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,  
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest."

This answer seemed, as indeed it was, milder than the former; so the envoys wrote it down, and went back with it to Athens. When, however, upon their arrival, they produced it before the people, and inquiry began to be made into its true meaning, many and various were the interpretations put on it; two, more especially, seemed to be directly opposed to one another. Certain of the old men were of opinion that the god meant to tell them the citadel would escape; for this was anciently defended by a palisade, and they supposed that barrier to be the "wooden wall" of the oracle. Others maintained that the fleet was what the god intended; and their advice was that nothing should be thought of except the ships, which had best be got ready at once. Still such as said the

<sup>1</sup> By the "limit of Cecrops" the *towards Delphi*, occurs naturally to the boundaries of Attica are intended. the priestess.  
Cithæron, the boundary of Attica.

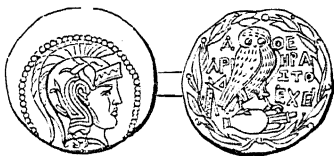
wooden wall meant the fleet were perplexed by the last two lines of the oracle:—

“Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,  
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest.”

These words caused great disturbance among those who took the wooden wall to be the ships; since the interpreters understood them to mean, that, if they made preparations for a sea-fight, they would suffer a defeat off Salamis.

Now there was at Athens a man who had lately made his way into the first rank of citizens: his true name was Themistoclēs; but he was known generally as the son of Neōclēs. This man came forward and said, that the interpreters had not explained the oracle altogether aright —“for if,” he argued, “the clause in question had really

referred to the Athenians, it would not have been expressed so mildly; the phrase used would have been ‘Luckless Salamis,’ rather than ‘Holy Salamis,’ had those to whom the island belonged been about to perish in its neighbourhood.



ATHENIAN DRACHMA.

Rightly taken, the response of the god threatened the enemy much more than the Athenians.” He therefore counselled his countrymen to make ready to fight on board their ships, since *they* were the wooden walls in which the god told them to trust. When Themistocles had thus cleared the matter, the Athenians adopted his view, preferring it to that of the interpreters. The advice of these last had been against engaging in a sea-fight; “all the Athenians could do,” they said, “was, without lifting a hand in their defence, to quit Attica, and make a settlement in some other country.” Themistocles had before this given very seasonable advice, which was accepted. The Athenians had a large sum of money in their treasury, the produce of the mines at Laureium,<sup>1</sup> and were about to

<sup>1</sup> Laureium, or Lauriōn, was the name of the mountainous country immediately above Cape Sunium, reaching northwards to Anaphlystus

and Thōrēus. The silver mines, with which the whole tract abounded, had been worked from time immemorial. They were regarded

share it among the full-grown citizens, who would have received ten drachmas apiece, when Themistocles persuaded them to forbear the distribution, and build two hundred ships with the money,<sup>1</sup> to help them in their war against the Æginetans. It was, indeed, the breaking out of this Æginetan war which was at this time the saving of Greece; for by it the Athenians were forced to become a maritime power. The new ships were not used for the purpose for which they had been built, but became a help to Greece in her hour of need. The Athenians had not only these vessels ready before the war, but they set to work to build more; while they determined, in a council which was held after the debate upon the oracle, that, according to the advice of the god, they would embark their whole force aboard their ships, and, with such Greeks as chose to join them, give battle to the barbarian invader.

The Greeks who were well affected to the Greek cause now assembled in one place, and there consulted together and interchanged pledges, and agreed that, before any other step was taken, the feuds and enmities which existed between the different nations should first of all be appeased. Many such there were; but one was of more importance than the rest, the war which was still going on between Athens and Ægina. When this business was concluded, understanding that Xerxes had reached Sardis with his army, they resolved to despatch spies into Asia to take note of the king's affairs. At the same time they determined to send ambassadors to the Argives, and conclude a league with them against the Persians; while they also despatched messengers to Gēlo, in Sicily, to the people of Corcȳra<sup>2</sup> and of Crete, inviting them to send help to Greece. Their wish was to unite, if possible, the entire Greek name in one, and so to bring all to join in the same plan of defence, inasmuch as the approaching dangers threatened all alike. Now the power of Gelo was said to be very great, far greater than that of any single Greek people.

So when these resolutions had been agreed upon, and the quarrels between the states made up, first they sent

as the property of the state; but private individuals, even foreigners, were allowed to work them on payment to the state of one twenty-fourth of the produce.

but perhaps not what he meant to say. It seems certain that the real determination was to raise their navy to the number of 200 vessels.

<sup>2</sup> Now Corfu.

<sup>1</sup> This is what Herodotus says,

into Asia three men as spies. These men reached Sardis, and took note of the king's forces, but they were discovered and examined by order of the generals who commanded the land army, and were condemned to death, and led out to execution. When the news reached Xerxes, he disapproved the sentence of the generals, and sent some of his body-guard with instructions, if they found the spies still alive, to bring them into his presence. The messengers found the spies alive, and brought them before the king; and, when he heard the purpose for which they had come, he gave orders to his guards to take them round the camp, and show them all the foot-soldiers and all the horse, letting them look at everything to their hearts' content; then, when they were satisfied, to send them away unharmed to whatever country they desired. For these orders Xerxes gave afterwards the following reasons:—"Had the spies been put to death," he said, "the Greeks would have continued ignorant of the great size of his army, which surpassed the common report of it; while he would have done them a very small injury by killing three of their men. On the other hand, by the return of the spies to Greece, his power would become known; and the Greeks," he expected, "would make surrender of their freedom before he began his march; by this means his troops would be saved all the trouble of an expedition." This reasoning of Xerxes was like that which he used upon another occasion; while he was staying at Abydos, he saw some corn-ships, which were passing through the Hellespont from the Euxine,<sup>1</sup> on their way to Ægina and the Peloponnese. His attendants, hearing that they were the enemy's, were ready to capture them, and looked to see when Xerxes would give the signal. He, however, merely asked, "Whither the ships were bound?" and when they answered, "For thy foes, master, with corn on board,"—"We too are bound thither," he rejoined, "laden, among other things, with corn. What harm is it, if they carry our provisions for us?" So the spies were dismissed when they had seen everything, and came back to Europe.

The Greeks who had bound themselves to act together

<sup>1</sup> The corn-growing countries upon the Black Sea, in ancient as in modern times, supplied the commercial nations with their chief article of food.

against the Persian, after despatching the spies into Asia, next sent ambassadors to Argos. The account which the Argives give of their own proceedings is this. They say that they had information from the very first of the preparations which the barbarians were making against Greece. So, as they expected that the Greeks would come upon them for aid against the assailant, they sent envoys to Delphi to inquire of the god what it would be best for them to do in the matter. They had lost, not long before, six thousand citizens, who had been slain by the Lacedæmonians under Cleōmēnēs (B.C. 496, 5),<sup>1</sup> which was the reason why they now sent to Delphi. When the Priestess heard their question she replied :—

“Hated of all thy neighbours, beloved of the blessed Immortals,  
Sit thou still, with thy lance drawn inward, patiently watching ;  
Warily guard thine head, and the head will take heed of the body.”

This prophecy had been given them some time before the envoys came ; but still, when they arrived at Argos, they were allowed to enter the council-house, and there deliver their message. This answer was returned to their demands : “Argos is ready to do as ye require, if the Lacedæmonians will first make a truce for thirty years, and will further divide with Argos the leadership of the allied army. Although in strict right the whole command should be hers,<sup>2</sup> she will be content to have the leadership divided equally.” Such, they say, was the reply made by the council, in spite of the oracle which forbade them to enter into a league with the Greeks. For, while not without fear of disobeying the oracle, they were greatly desirous of obtaining a thirty years’ truce, to give time for their sons

<sup>1</sup> We have here an estimate of the Argive loss. If, as is probable, the number of citizens was not greater than at Sparta (about 10,000), the blow was certainly tremendous.

<sup>2</sup> Argos never forgot her claim or relinquished her hopes of the hegemony. The claim rested in part on the fact that Argos was the seat of government under the Achæan kings, in part on the supposed choice of Argōlis for his kingdom by Tēmēnus, the eldest of the Heraclidæ. The hope determined the policy of Argos at all periods of her history. It induced her to stand aloof from great struggles—from the Peloponnesian as well as from this—in order to nurse her strength. And it caused her in critical times to incline always towards alliance with the enemies of Sparta, as with the Messenians in their early wars ; with Athens in B.C. 461, and again in B.C. 420 ; with the Corinthians in B.C. 421, and with the Thebans in B.C. 369.

to grow up to manhood. They reflected that, if no such truce were concluded, and it were their lot to suffer a second calamity at the hands of the Persians, they would not improbably fall hopelessly under the power of Sparta. But to the demands of the Argive council the Lacedæmonian envoys made answer: "They would bring before the people the question of concluding a truce. With regard to the leadership, they had received orders what to say, and the reply was, that Sparta had two kings, Argos but one—it was not possible that either of the two Spartans should be stripped of his dignity—but they did not oppose the Argive king having one vote like each of them." The Argives say, that they could not brook this arrogance on the part of Sparta, and rather than yield one jot to it, they preferred to be under the rule of the barbarians. So they told the envoys to be gone before sunset from their territory, or they should be treated as enemies.

Such is the account which is given of these matters by the Argives themselves. There is another story, which is told generally in Greece, of a different tenor. Xerxes, it is said, before he set out on his expedition against Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who on his arrival spoke as follows:—

"Men of Argos, King Xerxes speaks thus to you. We Persians deem that the Perses from whom we descend was the child of *Perseūs*, son of *Danæë*, and of *Andrōmēda*, daughter of *Cephēus*. It would seem therefore that we come of your stock and lineage. So it is not well for us to make war upon those from whom we spring; nor is it right for you to fight, on behalf of others, against us. Your place is to keep quiet and hold yourselves aloof. Only let things be as I wish, and there is no people whom I shall hold in higher esteem than you."

This address, says the story, was highly valued by the Argives, who therefore at the first neither gave a promise to the Greeks nor yet put forward a demand. Afterwards, however, when the Greeks called upon them to give their aid, they made the claim which has been mentioned, because they knew well that the Lacedæmonians would never yield it, and so they would have an excuse for taking no part in the war.

Other Greek envoys were sent to Sicily to ask aid of *Gēlo*, tyrant of Syracuse, amongst them one *Syagrus* of



Lacedæmon. When these were admitted to an audience, they spoke as follows :—

“We have been sent by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, to ask thee to join us against the barbarians. Doubtless thou hast heard of his invasion, and art aware that a Persian is about to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, and, bringing with him out of Asia all the forces of the East, to carry war into Greece,—he professes indeed that his object of attack is Athens, but he is really bent on bringing all the Greeks into subjection. Do thou therefore, we beseech thee, aid those who would maintain the freedom of Greece, and thyself assist to free her; since the power which thou hast is great, and thy rights in Greece, as lord of Sicily, are not small. For if all Greece join together in one, there will be a mighty host collected, and we shall be a match for our assailants; but if some turn traitors, and others refuse their aid, and only a small part of the whole body remain sound, then there is reason to fear that all Greece may perish. Do not cherish a hope that the Persian, when he has conquered our country, will be content and not advance against thee. Rather take thy measures beforehand; and consider that thou defendest thyself in giving aid to us. Wise counsels, be sure, for the most part have prosperous issues.”

Thus spoke the envoys; and Gelo replied with vehemence :—

“Greeks, ye have had the face to come here with selfish words, and urge me to join in league with you against the barbarian. Yet when I asked you once to join with me in fighting barbarians, when the quarrel broke out between me and Carthage;<sup>1</sup> and when I earnestly besought you to revenge on the men of Eggesta their murder of Dōriēus,<sup>2</sup> promising to assist you in setting free the trading-places, from which you receive great profits and advantages, you neither came here to give me succour, nor yet to revenge Dorieus; but, for any efforts on your part to hinder it, these countries might at this time have been entirely under the barbarians. Now, however, that all has prospered and gone well with me, while the danger has shifted its ground and at present

<sup>1</sup> No particulars are known of this war.

<sup>2</sup> Page ix.

threatens you, lo! you remember Gelo. But though ye slighted me then, I will not imitate you now: I am ready to give you aid, and to offer as my contribution 200 triremes, 20,000 men-at-arms, 2,000 cavalry, and an equal number of archers, slingers, and light horsemen, together with corn for the whole Greek army so long as the war shall last. These services, however, I promise on one condition—that ye appoint me general and commander of the Greek forces during the war with the barbarian. Unless ye agree to this, I will neither send succours, nor come myself.”

When Syagrus heard these words he was unable to contain himself, and exclaimed:—

“Surely a groan would burst from Pëlops’ son, Agamemnon,<sup>1</sup> did he hear that her leadership was snatched from Sparta by Gelo and the men of Syracuse. Speak then no more of any such condition, as that we should yield thee the chief command; but if thou wilt come to the aid of Greece, prepare to serve under Lacedæmonian generals. Wilt thou not serve under a leader?—why! then, withhold thy succours.”

On this Gelo, seeing the indignation which showed itself in these words, delivered to the envoys his final offer:—“Spartan stranger,” he said, “reproaches cast upon a man provoke him to anger; but the insults which thou hast uttered in thy speech shall not persuade me to outstep good breeding in my answer. Surely, if you maintain so stoutly your right to the command, it is reasonable that I should be still more stiff in maintaining mine, inasmuch as I am at the head of a far larger fleet and army. Since, however, the claim which I have put forward is so displeasing to you, I will yield, and be content with less. Take, if it please you, the command of the land-force, and I will be admiral of the fleet; or assume, if you prefer it, the command by sea, and I will be general upon land. Unless you are satisfied with these terms, you must return home by yourselves, and lose this great alliance.”

Here broke in the Athenian envoy, before the Spartan could answer, and thus addressed Gelo:—

<sup>1</sup> These words in the original clamation of Nestor (*Il.* vii, 125):—  
are nearly an hexameter line. *ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα*  
They are an adaptation of the ex-

"King<sup>1</sup> of the Syracusans ! Greece sent us here to thee to ask for an army, not a general. Thou, however, dost not promise to send us any army, if thou art not made general of the Greeks ; and this command is thy strong desire. When thy request was to have the whole command, we were content with silence ; for well we knew that we might trust the Spartan envoy to make answer for us both. But since, after failing in thy claim to lead the whole armament, thou hast now put a request to command the fleet, we tell thee that, should the Spartan envoy consent to this, we will not. The command by sea, if the Lacedæmonians do not wish for it, belongs to us. While they like to keep it, we shall raise no dispute ; but we will not yield our right to it in favour of any one but them. Where would be the advantage of having raised a naval force greater than that of any other Greeks, if none the less we should permit Syracusans to take the command from us ?—from us, Athenians, the most ancient nation in Greece, the only Greeks who have never changed their home—the people who are said by the poet Homer to have sent to Ilium the man best able of all the Greeks to array and marshal an army<sup>2</sup>—surely we may be allowed to boast."

Gelo replied : " Athenian stranger, ye have, it seems, no want of commanders ; but ye are likely to want the men to receive their orders. As ye will yield nothing and claim all, ye had best make haste back to Greece, and say that the spring of her year is lost to her."

Then the Greek envoys, without any further dealings with Gelo, sailed away home. Gelo, who feared that the Greeks would be too weak to withstand the barbarians, and yet could not bring himself to go to the Peloponnese, and there, though tyrant of Sicily,<sup>3</sup> serve under the Lacedæmonians, gave up all thought of that, and adopted another plan. As soon as news reached him that the Hellespont was crossed by the Persians, he sent off three penteconters, under the command of Cadmus, a native of Cōs ; he was to go to Delphi, with a large sum of money and a stock of friendly words : there he was to watch the war, and see what turn it would

<sup>1</sup> Note the word "king" here used of one more strictly called "tyrant" as below.

<sup>2</sup> See *Il.* ii. 552.

<sup>3</sup> This title is remarkable, but scarcely seems too strong when we consider the extent of Gelo's power.

take : if the barbarians prevailed, he was to give Xerxes the treasure, and with it earth and water for the lands which Gelo ruled—if the Greeks won the day, he was to convey the treasure back. Those, however, who live in Sicily say that though Gelo knew that he must serve under the Lacedæmonians, he would nevertheless have come to the aid of the Greeks, had not it been for Tērillus, tyrant of Himēra ; who, driven from his city by Thēro, sovereign prince of Acrāgas,<sup>1</sup> brought into Sicily at this same time an army of 300,000 men, Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Hēlisycians, Sardinians, and Corsicans, under the command of Hamilcar, son of Hanno, king<sup>2</sup> of the Carthaginians. Terillus prevailed on Hamilcar, partly as his sworn friend, but more through the zealous aid of Anaxilāüs, tyrant of Rhegium ; who, by giving his own sons to Hamilcar as hostages, induced him to make the expedition. Anaxilaus herein served his father-in-law ; for he was married to Cydippē, a daughter of Terillus. So, as Gelo could not give the Greeks any aid, he sent the sum of money to Delphi. They say, too, that the victory of Gelo and Thēro in Sicily, over Hamilcar the Carthaginian, was fought on the very day that the Greeks defeated the Persians at Salamis.

As for the Corcyræans, whom the envoys that visited Sicily took in their way, and to whom they delivered the same message as to Gelo, they answered and acted thus :—With great readiness they promised to come and give their help to the Greeks ; they declared that “the ruin of Greece was a thing which they could not tamely stand by to see ; for should she fall, they must the very next day submit to slavery ; so they were bound to assist her to the very utmost of their power.” But though they answered smoothly, yet when the time came for the succours to be sent, they quite changed their minds, and though they manned sixty ships, it was long before they put to sea with them ; and when they had so done, they went no further than the Peloponnese, where they lay to with their fleet, off the Lacedæmonian coast, about Pylös and Tænārum—like Gelo, watching to see what turn

<sup>1</sup> The Roman Agrigentum, and modern Girgenti.

<sup>2</sup> Both Herodotus and Aristotle give this somewhat misleading name of “king” to the suffetes, shoffetim,

or “judges” of Carthage, the *two* chief magistrates, who were elected from a certain limited number of noble families.

the war would take. For they despaired altogether of a Greek victory, and expected the Persians to win a great battle, and be masters of the whole of Greece. They therefore acted as I have said, that they might be able to address Xerxes in words like these: "Sire! the Greeks sought to obtain our aid in their war with thee, and we had a force of no small size, and could have supplied a greater number of ships than any Greek state but Athens;<sup>1</sup> yet we refused, for we would not fight against thee, nor do anything to annoy thee." The Corcyreans hoped that words like these would gain them better treatment from the Persians than the rest of the Greeks; and it would have done so, in my judgment. At the same time, they had an excuse ready to give their countrymen, which they used when the time came. Reproached for sending no succours, they replied, "that they had fitted out a fleet of sixty triremes, but the Etēsian winds<sup>2</sup> did not allow them to double Cape Malēa, and this hindered them from reaching Salamis—it was not from cowardice that they had missed the sea-fight." In this way the Corcyreans eluded the reproaches of the Greeks.

When the envoys sent to ask aid from Crete had made their request, the Cretans despatched messengers in the name of their state to Delphi, and asked the god, whether it would be for their good to send succour to Greece. "Fools!" replied the priestess, "do ye not still complain of the tears which your help of Menelāus cost you at the hands of Minos? How enraged he was when, in spite of their having lent you no aid towards avenging his death at Camīcus,<sup>3</sup> you helped them to avenge the robbery by a barbarian of the Spartan Helen!" When this answer was brought from Delphi to the Cretans, they thought no more of assisting the Greeks.

The Thessalians did not adopt the side of the Medes until forced to do so; for they gave plain proof that the intrigues of the Aleuādæ were not at all to their liking. No sooner did they hear that the Persian was about to

Thucydides confirms the flourishing condition of the Corcyrean navy at this date (i. 14). Corcyra continued to be the second naval power in Greece down to B.C. 435. At that time they were able to man a fleet of 110 triremes.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* annual winds, which blew from the N.W. for about forty days each year during August and September.

<sup>3</sup> A fortress in Sicily, perhaps near Acrāgas (Agrigentum).

cross into Europe than they despatched envoys to the Greeks who were met to consult at the Isthmus; all the states which were well inclined to the Greek cause had sent their delegates. These envoys on their arrival thus addressed their countrymen:—

“Greeks, ye must guard the pass of Olympus; for thus will Thessaly be placed in safety, and the rest of Greece. We are ready to take our share in this work; but you also must send us a strong force: otherwise we give you warning that we shall make terms with the Persians. For we ought not to be left, exposed as we are in front of all Greece, to die in defence of you, alone and unassisted. If, however, you do not choose to send us aid, you cannot force us to resist the foe; for there is no force so strong as inability. We shall therefore do our best to secure our safety.”

On this the Greeks determined to send a body of foot to Thessaly by sea, to defend the pass of Olympus. Accordingly a force was collected, which passed up the Euripus; it disembarked at Alus, on the coast of Achæa, and left the ships there, and marched into Thessaly. Here they occupied the defile of Tempē, which leads from Lower Macedonia into Thessaly along the course of the Penēüs, with the range of Olympus on the one hand and Ossa on the other. In this place the Greek force of about 10,000 heavy-armed men collected and pitched their camp, and were joined by the Thessalian cavalry. The commanders were, the Lacedæmonian Euænētus, chosen out of the Polemarchs,<sup>1</sup> who did not belong to the blood royal; and the Athenian Themistōclēs. They did not, however, remain for more than a few days; since envoys came from Alexander, son of Amyntas, the Macedonian king, and advised them to decamp from Tempe; if they remained in the pass they would be trodden under foot by the invading army, whose numbers they recounted, with the multitude of their ships. So when the envoys thus advised them, and the advice seemed good, and the Macedonian who sent it friendly, they did as he urged. In my opinion, what chiefly influenced them was the fear that the Persians might enter by another pass, of which

<sup>1</sup> The Spartan Polemarchs are mentioned both by Thucydides and Xenophon. They were the highest officers in the army next to the king (Thucyd. iv. 66; Xen. *Hell.* vi. iv. § 15). Each commanded a division, of which in the time of Xenophon there were six.

they now heard, which led from Upper Macedonia into Thessaly through the territory of the Perrhæbi, and by the town of Gonnus,—the pass by which soon afterwards the army of Xerxes made its entrance. The Greeks therefore went back to their ships and sailed away to the Isthmus. This expedition into Thessaly took place when the king was at Abydos, preparing to pass from Asia into Europe.<sup>1</sup> When their allies thus forsook them, the Thessalians no longer wavered, but warmly espoused the side of the Medes; afterwards, in the course of the war, they were of the greatest service to Xerxes.

On their return to the Isthmus, the Greeks discussed Alexander's words, and considered where they should fix the war, and what places they should occupy. The opinion prevailed to guard the pass of Thermopylæ; since it was narrower than the Thessalian defile, and at the same time nearer. Of the pathway by which the Greeks who fell at Thermopylæ were intercepted they had no knowledge, until, on their arrival at Thermopylæ, it was discovered to them by the Trachinians. This pass, then, they determined to guard, to prevent the barbarians from penetrating into Greece through it; at the same time it was resolved that the fleet should sail to Artemisium, for as those places are near each other it would be easy for the fleet and army to hold communication. Artemisium is<sup>2</sup> where the sea of Thrace contracts into a narrow channel, running between the isle of Sciæthos and the mainland of Magnēsia. When this narrow strait is passed you come to the coast-line called Artemisium; it is a portion of Eubœa, and contains a temple of Artemis. As for the entrance into Greece by Trachis, it is, at its narrowest point, about fifty feet wide. This, however, is not the place where the passage is most contracted; it is still narrower a little above and a little below Thermopylæ. At Alpēni, which is lower down, it is only wide enough for a single carriage; and above, at the river Phoenix, near the town Anthēla, the same is true. West of Thermopylæ<sup>3</sup> rises a lofty and

<sup>1</sup> Page 65.

<sup>2</sup> See map on p. xox.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus supposes the general bearing of the coast at this point to have been north and south, as it is generally on this side of Greece,

whereas in reality the coast runs from west to east. This is a strange mistake for one who had visited the spot. The mountain-range is in fact *south*, and the sea *north* of the pass.

precipitous hill, impossible to climb, which runs up into the chain of Ceta; while to the east the road is shut in by the sea and marshes. In this place are the warm springs, which the natives call "The Cauldrons,"<sup>1</sup> and above them stands an altar sacred to Heracles. A wall had once been carried across the opening; and in this there had in old times been a gateway. These works were made by the Phocians, through fear of the Thessalians, when the latter came from Thesprōtia to establish themselves in the land of Æolis, which they still occupy. The old wall had been built in very remote times; and the greater part of it had gone to decay with age. Now the Greeks resolved to repair its breaches, and make their stand here against the barbarians. At this point there is a village called Alpeni, very near the road, from which the reckoned on getting corn for their troops. These therefore, seemed to the Greeks fit for their Weighing well all that was likely to happen, and considering that in this region the barbarians could make no use of their vast numbers, nor of their cavalry, they resolved to await here the invader of Greece. When news reached them of the Persians being in Pieria, broke up at once from the Isthmus, and proceeded, on foot to Thermopylæ, others by sea to Artemisium.

(v.) THE GREEKS ABANDON THESSALY, AND DEFEND  
THERMOPYLÆ AND ARTEMISIUM.

The Greeks now made all speed to reach these two stations; and about the same time the Delphians, alarmed both for themselves and for their country, consulted the god, and received for answer a command to "pray to the winds; for the winds would do Greece good service." So when this answer was given them, the Delphians at once sent word of the prophecy to those Greeks who were zealous for freedom, and, cheering them thereby amid their fears of the barbarian, earned their everlasting gratitude.

<sup>1</sup> So Pausanias (IV. xxxv. § 6). The springs at Thermopylæ are hot (about 100° Fahrenheit) and salt. There are two of them, closed within receptacles of masonry, about two

feet in depth, from which in cool weather a strong vapour rises. The name "Cauldron" is thus very expressive.



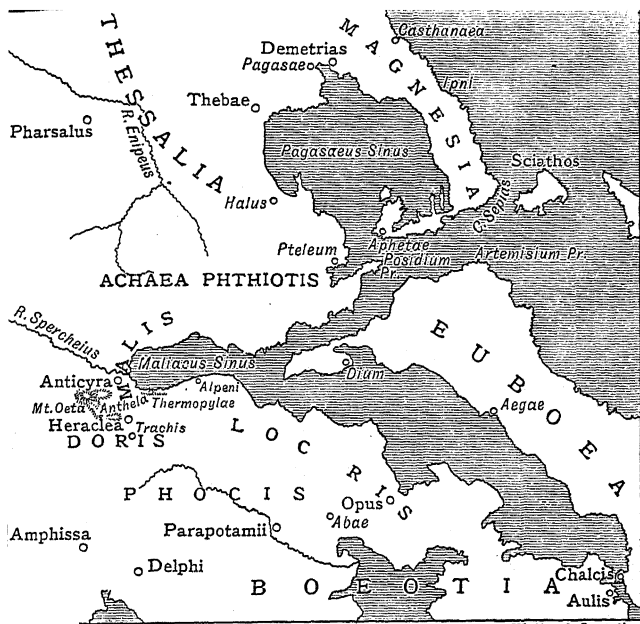
This done, they raised an altar to the winds at Thyia,<sup>1</sup> and worshipped them with sacrifices. Even to the present day the Delphians sacrifice to the winds, because of this oracle.

The fleet of Xerxes now left Therma; and ten of the swiftest sailing ships ventured to stretch across direct for Sciathos: here there were upon the look-out three vessels belonging to the Greeks, one a ship of Trœzēn, another of Ægina, and the third from Athens. These vessels no sooner saw from a distance the barbarians approaching than they all hurriedly took to flight. The barbarians at once pursued, and the Trœzenian ship, commanded by Prēxīnus, fell into their hands. Hereupon the Persians took the handsomest of the men-at-arms, and drew him to the prow of the vessel and sacrificed him; for they thought the man a good omen to their cause, seeing that he was at once so beautiful, and the first captive they had made. The man who was slain in this way was called Leon (*i.e.*, Lion); and it may be that the name he bore helped him to his fate. The Æginetan trireme, under its captain, Asōnīdēs, gave the Persians no little trouble, one of the men-at-arms, Pythēs, distinguishing himself beyond all the others who fought that day. After the ship was taken this man continued to resist, and never ceased fighting till he fell covered with wounds. When the Persians who served in the squadron found that he was not dead, but was still breathing, they were very anxious to save his life, as he had behaved so valiantly, and dressed his wounds with myrrh, and bound them with cotton bandages. Then, when they had returned to their own station, they displayed their prisoner admiringly to the whole host, and behaved towards him with much kindness; all the rest of the ship's crew were treated as slaves. Thus did the Persians take two of the vessels. The third, a trireme commanded by Phormus of Athens, took to flight and ran aground at the mouth of the Peneus. The barbarians got possession of the ship, but not of the men. For the Athenians had no sooner run their vessel aground than they leapt out, and made their way through Thessaly back to Athens.

When the Greeks at Artemisium learnt what had happened by fire-signals from Sciathos, so terrified were they, that, quitting their anchorage-ground at Artemisium, and leaving scouts to watch the foe on the highlands of Eubœa, they

<sup>1</sup> The site of Thyia, which no other author mentions, is unknown.

removed to Chalcis, intending to guard the Euripus. Meantime three of the ten vessels sent forward by the barbarians advanced as far as the sunken rock between Sciathos and Magnesia, called "The Ant," and there set up a stone pillar which they had brought with them for that purpose. After this, their course being clear, the barbarians set sail with all their ships from Therma, eleven days from the time that the king quitted the town.



Walker &amp; Boutallsc.

## THERMOPYLÆ AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

So far, then, the armament of Xerxes had been free from mischance; and the numbers were still, according to my reckoning, as follows. First there was the old complement of the 1,207 vessels<sup>1</sup> which came with the king from Asia, amounting, if we allow each ship a crew of 200 men, to 241,400. Each of these vessels had on board, besides native soldiers, thirty fighting men, who were either Persians, Medes, or Sacæ; which gives an addition

<sup>1</sup> Page 73.

of 36,210. To these two numbers I must further add the crews of the penteconters and smaller craft, which may be reckoned, one with another, at fourscore men each. Of such vessels there were 3,000; and the men on board accordingly would be 240,000. This was the sea force brought by the king from Asia; and it amounted in all to 517,610 men. The number of the foot-soldiers was 1,700,000; that of the horsemen 80,000; to this must be added the Arabs who rode on camels, and the Libyans who fought in chariots, whom I reckon at 20,000. The whole number, therefore, of the land and sea forces added together amounts to 2,317,610 men. Such was the force brought from Asia, without including the camp-followers, or taking account of the provision-ships and the men whom they had on board. To the amount thus reached we have still to add the forces gathered in Europe, of which I can speak only from conjecture. The Greeks dwelling in Thrace, and in the islands off the coast of Thrace, sent to the fleet 120 ships; the crews of these would amount to 24,000 men. Besides these, foot-soldiers were supplied by the Thracians, the Pæonians, the Eordians, the Bottiæans, by the Chalcidian tribes, by the Brygians, the Pierians, the Macedonians, the Perrhæbians, the Ænianians, the Dolopians, the Magnesians, the Achæans, and all the dwellers on the Thracian sea-board; and the forces of these nations amounted, I believe, to 300,000 men. These numbers, added to those of the force which came out of Asia, make the sum of fighting men 2,641,610. Beyond this, it is my belief that the attendant camp-followers, with the crews of the corn-barks and of the other craft accompanying the army, made up an amount rather above than below that of the fighting men. However, I will not reckon them as fewer or more, but take them at an equal number. We have therefore to multiply the sum already reached by two. This will give 5,283,220 as the whole number of men brought by Xerxes, as far as Thermopylæ.<sup>1</sup>

Such then was the amount of the entire host of Xerxes.

<sup>1</sup> It can scarcely be doubted that this amount is considerably beyond the truth. It would have been the object of the several officers of Xerxes to exaggerate the numbers under their command, for their own credit in having brought so many men into the field; and Xerxes him-

self might have been content to have such exaggerations made, both as adding to his glory and as tending to alarm the Greeks. After the failure of the expedition it was equally an object with the Greeks to magnify its greatness, since they thus increased the merit of their own success.

As for the number of the women and other followers, no one can give any sure account of it; nor can the baggage horses and other beasts, nor the Indian hounds which followed the army, be calculated, because of their multitude. Hence I am not at all surprised that the water of the rivers was found too scanty for the army in some instances; rather it is a marvel to me how the provisions did not fail, when the numbers were so great. For I find on calculation that if each man consumed no more than a choenix of corn a day, there must have been used daily by the army 110,340 medimni,<sup>1</sup> and this without counting what was eaten by the women, the beasts of burden, and the hounds. Among all this multitude of men there was not one who, for beauty and stature, deserved more to wield so vast a power than Xerxes himself.

The fleet, then, as I said, on leaving Therma, sailed to the Magnesian territory, and there occupied the strip of coast between the city of Casth  n  a and Cape S  pias. The ships of the first row were moored to the land, while the remainder swung at anchor further off. The beach extended but a little way, so that they had to anchor off the shore, row upon row, eight deep. In this manner they passed the night. But at dawn of day calm and stillness gave place to a raging sea and a violent storm, which fell upon them with a strong gale from the east—a wind which the people in those parts call Hellespontias. Such of them as noticed the wind rising, and were so moored as to allow of it, forestalled the tempest by dragging their ships up on the beach, and in this way saved both themselves and their vessels. But the ships which the storm caught out at sea were driven ashore, some of them near the place called Ipni, or “The Ovens,” at the foot of P  lion; others on the sand itself; others again about

<sup>1</sup> This is a miscalculation. There were 48 “choenices” to one medimnus, and the actual amount, according to the number at which Herodotus reckons the host, would be 110,067 $\frac{1}{2}$  medimni. The medimnus contained about twelve gallons English, the choenix about one quart.

With respect to the mode in which the immense host was actually supplied, we must bear in mind, 1. That Asiatics are accustomed to live upon a very scanty diet. 2. That

commissariat preparations on the largest scale had been made for several years. Magazines of stores had been laid up on the line of march, and the natives had been stimulated to prepare supplies of food of all kinds. 3. That a vast number of transports laden with corn accompanied the host along shore. And 4. That, notwithstanding all these precautions, the expedition did suffer from want (*Æschyl, Pers.* 789-799).

Cape Sepias; while some were dashed to pieces near the cities of Melibœa and Casthanæa. There was no resisting the tempest. It is said that the Athenians had called upon Borœas (the North Wind) to aid the Greeks, on account of a fresh oracle which had reached them, commanding them to "seek help from their son-in-law." For Boreas, according to the tradition of the Greeks, married a wife from Attica, Orithyia, the daughter of Erechthēus. So the Athenians, considering that this marriage made Boreas their son-in-law, and perceiving, while they lay with their ships at Chalcis in Eubœa, that the wind was rising, or, it may be, even before it freshened, offered sacrifice, as the story says, both to Boreas and to Orithyia, entreating them to come to their aid and to destroy the ships of the barbarians, as they did once before off Mount Athos.<sup>1</sup> Whether it was owing to this that Boreas fell with violence on the barbarians at their anchorage, I cannot say; but the Athenians declared that they had received aid from Boreas before, and that it was he who now caused all these disasters. On their return home, therefore, they built a temple to this god on the banks of the Ilissus.

Such as put the loss of the Persian fleet in this storm at the lowest, say that 400 of their ships were destroyed, that a countless multitude of men were slain, and a vast treasure lost. Ameinoclēs, a Magnesian, who farmed land near Cape Sepias, found the wreck of these vessels a source of great gain to him; many were the gold and silver drinking-cups, cast up long afterwards by the surf, which he gathered; while treasure-boxes too, which had belonged to the Persians, and gold articles of all kinds beyond count came into his possession. Ameinocles grew to be a man of great wealth in this way; but in other respects things did not go over well with him: he too, like other men, had his own grief—he lost his children. As for the number of the provision-craft and other merchant ships which perished, it was beyond count. Indeed, such was the loss, that the commanders of the sea force, afraid that the Thessalians might attack them in their dangerous position, raised a lofty barricade around their station out of the wreck of the vessels cast ashore. The storm lasted three days. At length the Magi, by offering victims to the Winds, and charming them

with the help of conjurers, while at the same time they sacrificed to Thētis and the Nēreids, succeeded in laying the storm four days after it first began; or possibly it ceased of itself. The reason of their offering sacrifice to Thetis was this: they were told by the Ionians that here was the place whence Pēlēūs carried her off, and that the whole promontory was sacred to her and to her sister Nereids. So the storm lulled upon the fourth day. The scouts left by the Greeks about the highlands of Eubœa hastened down from their stations on the day following that on which the storm began, and acquainted their countrymen with all that had befallen the Persian fleet. These no sooner heard what had happened than they at once returned thanks to Poseidōn the Saviour, and poured libations in his honour; then they hastened back with all speed to Artemisium, expecting to find very few ships left to oppose them; arriving there for the second time, they took up their station on that strip of coast: nor from that day to the present have they ceased to address Poseidon by this name of "Saviour." When the wind lulled and the sea grew smooth, the barbarians drew their ships down to the water, and proceeded to coast along the mainland. They rounded the extreme point of Magnesia, and sailed straight into the bay that runs up to Pāgāsæ. Here, at Aphētæ, the fleet came to anchor. Fifteen ships, which had lagged much behind the rest, happened to catch sight of the Greek fleet at Artemisium, and mistook it for their own, and sailing down into the midst of it, fell into the hands of the enemy. The commander of this squadron was Sandōcēs. He was one of the royal judges, and had been crucified by Darius some time before, on the charge of taking a bribe to determine a cause wrongly; but while he yet hung on the cross, Darius bethought him that the good deeds of Sandoces towards the king's house were more numerous than his evil deeds; so he confessed that he had acted with more haste than wisdom, and ordered him to be taken down and set at large. Thus Sandoces escaped destruction at the hands of Darius, and was alive at this time; but he was not fated to escape from his second peril; for as soon as the Greeks saw the ships making towards them, they guessed their mistake, and putting to sea, took them without difficulty.

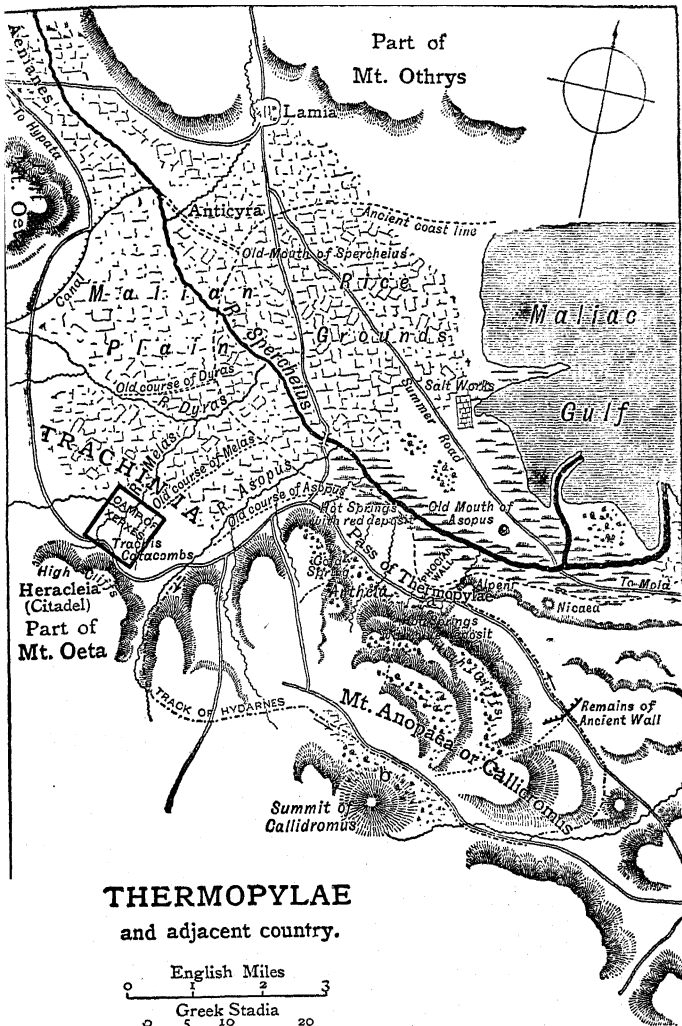
Aridōlis, tyrant of Alabanda in Caria, was on board

one of the ships, and was made prisoner; so was the Paphian general, Penthylus, on board another. He had brought with him twelve ships from Paphos, and, after losing eleven in the storm, was taken on the remaining one as he sailed towards Artemisium. The Greeks, after questioning their prisoners as much as they wished concerning the forces of Xerxes, sent them away in chains to the Isthmus of Corinth. The sea force of the barbarians, with the exception of the fifteen ships commanded by Sandoces, came safe to Aphetæ. Xerxes meanwhile, with the land army, had marched through Thessaly and Achæa, and three days earlier had entered the territory of the Mælians, along the shores of a bay in which there is an ebb and flow of the tide daily. By the side of this bay lies a piece of flat land, in one part broad, but in another very narrow indeed, around which runs a range of lofty hills, impossible to climb, enclosing all Malis within them, and called the Trachinian cliffs.<sup>1</sup> The first city upon the bay, as you come from Achæa, is Anticyra, near which the river Spercheius empties into the sea. About twenty furlongs from this stream there is a second river, called the Dyrras, and again about twenty furlongs further another called the Mælas (or Black-water), near which, within about five furlongs, stands the city of Trachis; here the plain between the hills and the sea is broader than at any other point; south of Trachis there is a cleft in the mountain-range which shuts in the territory of Trachinia; and the river Asopus, issuing from it, flows for a while along the foot of the hills. Further to the south, another river, called the Phoenix<sup>2</sup> (or Red River), which has no great body of water, flows from the same hills, and falls into the Asopus. This is the narrowest place of all; for in this part there is only a causeway wide

<sup>1</sup> It appears that, however great the changes which time has made, the general character of the scene remains unaltered. The plain at the head of the bay, varying greatly in its breadth, the range of hills surrounding it on all sides, the cliffs and precipices which in many places abut upon the flat country, are now, as formerly, the most conspicuous features of the locality.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Leake identifies the

Phoenix with a small stream of hot mineral water, having a deposit of a red colour, which flows from two sources near the base of the mountain-range, and empties itself into the Spercheius, rather more than half a mile below the point where that stream receives the Asopus. Here is still one of the narrowest portions of the pass; and the distance to the principal hot springs is almost exactly fifteen stades.



## THERMOPYLÆ

and adjacent country.

a. Position of the Greek Army.

b. " " " Phocians.



enough for a single carriage. From the river Phoenix to Thermopylæ is a distance of fifteen furlongs; and in this space lies the village Anthēla, which the river Asopus passes before it reaches the sea. The space about Anthēla is of some width, and contains a temple of Amphictyonic Dēmētēr, as well as the seats of the Amphictyonic deputies,<sup>1</sup> and a temple of Amphictyon himself.<sup>2</sup>

King Xerxes pitched his camp in the region of Mālis called Trāchīnia, while on their side the Greeks occupied the straits.<sup>3</sup> These straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylæ (the Hot Gates); but the natives, and those who dwell in the neighbourhood, call them Pylæ (the Gates). Here, then, the two armies took their stand; the one master of all the region north of Trachis, the other of the country extending southward from that place to the verge of the continent.

<sup>1</sup> Amphictyonies were religious leagues of states possessing a common sanctuary. (The word originally meant in Greek neighbours "who dwelt around.") There were several both in Asia and Europe. The Amphictyony which met at Thermopylæ was the most celebrated of all. It consisted of the following "nations," viz., the Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Megarians, Locrians, Ænians, Achæans of Phthiotis, Malians, Phocians, and (probably) the Dolopians. It held its regular meetings twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn. The spring meeting was at Delphi, the autumn at Thermopylæ. Each "nation" sent two deputies.

<sup>2</sup> Amphictyon would seem to be most clearly an invented name, formed, according to the Greek custom of referring all appellatives to a *heros eponymus*, from the word Amphictyony. Yet the adventures of Amphictyon were gravely narrated as though they were historical truths.

<sup>3</sup> Great alterations have taken place through the accumulation of deposits from the Spercheus and the other streams. The head of the gulf has receded about four miles, the Maliac plain having advanced that distance. The mouth of the

Spercheus has been thrown from the north-eastern to the southern shore of the gulf, and advanced seven or eight miles from its old position. The pass is now separated from the sea throughout its entire extent, by a tract of marshy ground, a mile or two in width, through which the Spercheus flows, and across which a road, only practicable in summer, leads from Southern to Northern Greece, avoiding the pass altogether. The minor streams mentioned by Herodotus have all become tributaries of the Spercheus, and have changed their courses in some degree. The wood upon Mount Anopæa has been to a great extent cut down, and the slopes are now cultivated. Several roads, too, of a rough kind have been made, where in the time of Herodotus there was but a single footpath. Still, many features of the scene remain unaltered—the broad plain, the high Trachinian precipices, the gorge through which the river Asopus emerges from the mountains, the hot springs or "cauldrons," blue as in the days of Pausanias (iv. xxxv. § 5), the marshes more extensive now than formerly, even the oak woods upon Callidromus—all these are witnessed to by modern travellers, and attest the accuracy of the historian.

The Greeks who at this spot awaited Xerxes were these : from Sparta, 300 men-at-arms ; from Arcadia, 1,000 Tëgëans and Mantinëans, 500 of each people ; 120 Orchomenians from the Arcadian Orchömënus, and 1,000 from other Arcadian cities ; from Corinth, 400 men ; from Phlius, 200 ; and from Mycēnæ, 80. Such was the number from the Peloponnese. There were also present, from Bœotia, 700 Thespians and 400 Thebans. Besides these troops, the Locrians of Opus and the Phocians had obeyed the call of their countrymen, and sent, the former all the force they had, the latter 1,000 men. For envoys had gone from the Greeks at Thermopylæ among the Locrians and Phocians, to call on them for assistance, and to say : " They were but the vanguard of the host themselves, sent to precede the main body, which might every day be expected to follow. The sea was in good keeping, watched by the Athenians, the Æginetans, and the rest of the fleet. There was no cause to fear ; for after all the invader was not God but man ; there never had been, and never would be, any man who was not liable to misfortunes from the day of his birth, and those misfortunes greater in proportion to his own greatness. The assailant therefore, being a mortal, must needs fall from his glory." Thus urged, the Locrians and the Phocians had come with their troops to Trachis. The various nations had each generals of their own, under whom they served ; but the one to whom all especially looked with admiration, and who had the command of the entire force, was Leonidas of Lacedæmon.

He had come to be king of Sparta quite unexpectedly ; he had two elder brothers, Cleömënēs and Dōriëūs, and had no thought of ever succeeding to the throne. However, when Cleomenes died without male issue, as Dorieus too had died in Sicily, the crown came to Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrōtus, the youngest of the brothers, and, moreover, was married to Cleomenes' daughter Gorgo.<sup>1</sup> He had now come to Thermopylæ, accompanied by the 300<sup>2</sup> men which the law assigned him ; he had chosen

<sup>1</sup> For Cleomenes and Gorgo, see pp. ix and 9.

<sup>2</sup> Leonidas seems to have been fully aware of the desperate nature of the service which he now undertook. Instead, therefore, of taking with him his ordinary body-guard of youths, he selected a body-guard from among the men of advanced age, taking none but such as had male offspring living, in order that no family might altogether perish.

them himself from among the citizens, and they were all fathers with sons living. On his way he had taken the troops from Thebes, whose number I have already mentioned, and who were under the command of Leontiadēs. The reason why Leonidas made a point of taking troops from Thebes, and Thebes alone, was, that the Thebans were strongly suspected of favouring the Medes. Leonidas therefore called on them to come with him to the war, wishing to see whether they would comply with his demand, or openly refuse, and disclaim the Greek alliance. Though their wishes were the other way, they sent the men.

The force with Leonidas was sent forward by the Spartans in advance of their main body, that the sight of them might encourage the allies to fight, and hinder them from going over to the Medes, as they might have done, had they seen that Sparta was backward. They intended presently, when they had kept the Carneian festival,<sup>1</sup> which now detained them at home, to leave a garrison in Sparta, and hasten in full force to join the army. The rest of the allies intended to do the same; for it happened that the Olympic festival fell exactly at this period.<sup>2</sup> None of them expected to see the contest at Thermopylæ decided so speedily; they were content to send forward an advanced guard.

The Greek forces at Thermopylæ, when the Persian army drew near the entrance of the pass, were seized with fear; and a council was held to consider about a retreat. It was the wish of Peloponnesians generally that the army should fall back upon the Peloponnese, and there guard the Isthmus. But Leonidas, who saw with what indignation the Phocians and Locrians heard of this plan, gave his voice for remaining where they were, while they sent envoys to the several cities to ask for help, since they were too few to make a stand against an army like that of the Medes. While this debate was going on, Xerxes sent a mounted spy to observe the Greeks, and note how many they were, and see what they were doing. He had heard, before he

<sup>1</sup> The Carneian festival fell in the Spartan month Carneius, the Athenian Metageitnion, corresponding nearly to our August. It was held in honour of Apollo Carneius, who was worshipped from very ancient times in the Peloponnese, especially at Amyclæ.

<sup>2</sup> The Olympic festival was celebrated at the time of the first full moon after the summer solstice. It therefore ordinarily preceded the Spartan Carneia, falling in the latter end of June or in July.

came out of Thessaly, that a few men were assembled at this place, and that at their head were certain Lacedæmonians, under Leonidas, a descendant of Heracles. The horseman rode up to the camp, and looked about him, but did not see the whole army; for such as were on the further side of the wall (which had been rebuilt and was now carefully guarded) it was not possible to see; but he observed those on the outside, who were encamped in front of the rampart. As it happened the Lacedæmonians at this time held the outer guard, and were seen by the spy, some of them engaged in gymnastics, others combing their long hair. The spy greatly wondered at this, but he counted their number, and when he had taken accurate note of everything he rode back quietly; for no one pursued him, nor paid any heed to his visit. So he returned and told Xerxes all that he had seen. Upon this, Xerxes, who had no means of guessing what was the truth—that the Spartans were preparing to do or die manfully—but thought it a joke that they should be engaged in such employments, summoned Dēmarātus, who still remained with the army, into his presence. When he appeared, Xerxes told him all that he had heard, and questioned him, since he was anxious to understand the meaning of such behaviour of the Spartans. Then Demaratus said:—

“I spoke to thee, sire, of these men long since, when we had but just begun our march upon Greece; but thou didst only laugh at my words when I told thee of all this, which I saw would come to pass. Earnestly do I struggle at all times to speak truth to thee, sire; and now listen to it once more. These men have come to dispute the pass with us; and for this they are making ready. It is their custom, when they are about to hazard their lives, to adorn their heads with care. Be assured, however, that if thou canst subdue the men who are here and the Lacedæmonians who remain in Sparta, there is no other nation in the world which will venture to lift a hand in its defence. Thou hast now to deal with the first kingdom and town in Greece, and with the bravest men.”

Then Xerxes, to whom what Demaratus said seemed altogether to pass all belief, asked further, “How is it possible for so small an army to contend with mine?”

"Sire," Demaratus answered, "let me be treated as a liar, if all is not as I say."

Still Xerxes was not persuaded. Four whole days he suffered to go by, expecting the Greeks to run away. When, however, he found on the fifth that they were not gone, thinking that their firm stand was mere impudence and recklessness, he grew angry, and sent against them the Medes and Cissians, with orders to take them alive and bring them into his presence. Then the Medes rushed forward and charged the Greeks, but fell in large numbers: others took the places of the slain, and would not be beaten off, though they suffered terrible losses. In this way it became clear to all, and especially to the king, that though he had plenty of soldiers, he had few men. The struggle, however, continued that whole day. Then the Medes, having met with a rough reception, withdrew from the fight; and their place was taken by those Persians under Hydarnes whom the king called his "Immortals": they, it was thought, would soon bring the end. But when they joined battle with the Greeks, it was with no better success than the Median detachment—things were much as before—the two armies fighting in a narrow space, and the barbarians using shorter spears than the Greeks, and having no advantage from their numbers. The Lacedæmonians fought gallantly, and showed themselves far more skilful fighters than their foes; often they would turn their backs, and make as though they were all flying, on which the barbarians would rush after them with much noise and shouting; then the Spartans at their approach would wheel round and face their pursuers, in this way destroying vast numbers of the enemy. Some Spartans too fell in these encounters, but only a very few. At last the Persians found that all their efforts to gain the pass were useless, whether they attacked by divisions or in any other way, and withdrew to their own quarters. During these assaults it is said that Xerxes, who was watching the battle, three times leapt from the throne on which he sat, in terror for his army.

Next day the combat was renewed, but with no better success on the part of the barbarians. The Greeks were so few that the barbarians hoped to find them disabled by their wounds from offering further resistance; so they once more attacked them. But the Greeks were drawn up

in detachments according to their cities, and bore the brunt of the battle in turns,—all except the Phocians, who had been stationed on the mountain to guard the pathway. So, when the Persians found no difference between that day and the last, they again withdrew to their quarters. Now, as the king was in great perplexity, and could not tell what to do, Epialtēs of Malis came to him and was admitted to an audience. Influenced by the hope of a rich reward from the king, he had come to tell him of the pathway which led across the mountain to Thermopylæ; by this he brought destruction on the band of Greeks who had there withstood the barbarians. This Epialtes afterwards, from fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled into Thessaly; and during his exile, in an assembly of the Amphictyons held at Pylæ,<sup>1</sup> a price was set upon his head. When some time had passed he returned from exile and went to Anticyra, where he was slain by Athēnādēs of Trachis. Xerxes' joy was great when he heard of the plan of Epialtes, and as he warmly approved he sent at once upon this errand Hydarnes and the Persians under him. The troops left the camp about the time of the lighting of the lamps. The pathway along which they went was first discovered by the Malians of these parts, who soon afterwards led the Thessalians by it to attack the Phocians, at the time when the Phocians fortified the pass with a wall, and so put themselves under cover from danger. Ever since, the path has always been put to bad uses by the Malians.

The course of the path is this<sup>2</sup>: it begins at the Asopus, where that stream flows through the cleft in the hills, and runs along the mountain-ridge (which is called, like the pathway over it, Anōpæa), and ends at the city of Alpēni—the first Locrian town as you come from Malis. Here it is as narrow as at any point. The Persians took this path, and, crossing the Asopus,<sup>3</sup> continued their march the whole of that night. At dawn they found themselves close to the summit. Now the hill was guarded, as I have already said, by a thousand Phocian men-at-arms, who were

<sup>1</sup> That is, Thermopylæ: see p. 108, with note.

<sup>2</sup> See plan: p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be supposed, that at the close of each day the Persian troops

engaged fell back upon the great camp at Trachis. Hydarnes would thus have to cross the Asopus, on beginning his march over the mountain.

placed there to defend the pathway, and to secure their own country. They had been ordered to guard the mountain path, while the other Greeks defended the pass below, because they had volunteered for the service, and had pledged themselves to Leonidas to maintain the post. The ascent of the Persians became known to the Phocians thus : while they were climbing up, the Greeks did not know, as the whole mountain was covered with groves of oak ; but it happened that the air was very still, and the leaves which the Persians stirred with their feet made, naturally enough, a loud rustling, on which the Phocians sprang up and seized their arms. In a moment the barbarians came in sight, and were greatly astonished to see men arming themselves, for they had found an enemy when they expected no opposition. Hydarnes, alarmed at the sight, and afraid that the Phocians might be Lacedæmonians, inquired of Epialtes to what nation those troops belonged. Epialtes told him the truth, and Hydarnes arrayed his Persians for battle. The Phocians, galled by the showers of arrows to which they were exposed, and imagining themselves the special object of the Persian attack, fled hastily to the crest of the mountain, and there made ready to meet death ; but while their mistake continued, the Persians with Epialtes and Hydarnes, not thinking it worth their while to delay on account of Phocians, passed on and descended the mountain with all speed.

The Greeks at Thermopylæ received the first warning of the destruction which the dawn was to bring from the seer Megistias, who read their fate in the victims as he sacrificed. After this deserters came in, and brought news that the Persians were marching round by the hills : it was still night when these men arrived. Last of all, the scouts came running from the heights, and brought the same accounts, when the day was just beginning to break. Then the Greeks held a council to consider what to do, and here opinions were divided : some were strong against quitting their post, while others maintained the contrary. So when the council had broken up, some of the troops departed and went their way home to their states ; part, however, resolved to remain, and to stand by Leonidas to the last. It is said that Leonidas himself sent away the troops who went, because he valued their safety, but thought it wrong that either he or his Spartans should quit the

post which they had been sent to guard. For my own part, I incline to think that Leonidas gave the order, because he perceived the allies to be out of heart, and unwilling to face the danger. He therefore bade them retreat; for himself he could not draw back with honour: he knew that, if he stayed, glory awaited him, and Sparta would not lose her prosperity. For when the Spartans, at the very beginning of the war, sent to consult the oracle about it, they received the answer from the priestess "that either Sparta must be overthrown by the barbarians, or one of her kings must perish." The prophecy was delivered in hexameter verse:—

"O ye men who dwell in the streets of broad Lacedæmon!  
 Either your glorious town shall be sacked by the children of Perseus  
 Or, in exchange, must all through the whole Laconian country  
 Mourn for the loss of a king, descendant of Heracles mighty.  
 He cannot be withstood by the courage of bulls nor of lions,  
 Strive as they may; he is mighty as Zeus; there is nought that shall  
 stay him,  
 Till he have got for his prey your king, or your glorious city."

The remembrance of this answer, I think, and the wish to secure the whole glory for the Spartans, caused Leonidas to send the allies away. This is more likely than that they quarrelled with him, and took their departure in such unruly fashion. It seems to me no slight argument in favour of this view, that the seer accompanied the army. Megistias, who, from the appearance of the victims, had warned the Greeks of the danger which threatened them, received orders to retire (for it is certain he did) from Leonidas, that he might escape the coming destruction. Though bidden to depart, he refused, and stayed with the army; but he had an only son present with the expedition, whom he now sent away. So when Leonidas ordered the allies to retire, they obeyed him and departed. Only the Thespians and the Thebans remained with the Spartans; and of these the Thebans were kept by Leonidas as hostages, very much against their will. The Thespians, on the contrary, stayed entirely of their own accord,<sup>1</sup> refusing to retreat, and declared that they would not

<sup>1</sup> This conduct of the Thespians by the hope of becoming, if the is very remarkable. They were Greek cause prospered, the head of perhaps excited to it in some degree the Boeotian confederacy.



forsake Leonidas and his men. So they waited with the Spartans, and died with them. Their general was Dēmōphilus.

At sunrise Xerxes made libations, after which he waited until the time when the market fills,<sup>1</sup> and then began his advance. Epialtes had instructed him thus, as the descent of the mountain is much quicker, and the distance much shorter, than the way round the hills, and the ascent.<sup>2</sup> So the barbarians under Xerxes began to draw near; and the Greeks under Leonidas, as they now marched out determined to die, advanced much further than on previous days, until they reached the more open portion of the pass. Hitherto they had held their station within the wall, and from here had gone forth to fight at the point where the pass was narrowest. Now they joined battle beyond the defile, and carried slaughter among the barbarians, who fell in heaps. Behind them the captains of the squadrons, armed with whips, urged their men forward with continual blows. Many were thrust into the sea, and perished there; more still were trampled to death by their own soldiers; no one heeded the dying. For the Greeks, reckless of their safety and desperate, since they knew that, as the mountain had been crossed, their death was close at hand, exerted themselves with the utmost fury against the barbarians. By this time the spears of the greater number were all shivered, and with their swords they hewed down the Persian ranks; and here in the struggle Leonidas fell fighting bravely, together with many other famous Spartans, whose names I have taken care to learn on account of their great worth, as indeed I have those of all the three hundred.<sup>3</sup> There fell too at the same time very many famous Persians: among them, two sons of Darius, Abrōcōmēs and Hyperanthēs.<sup>4</sup> Thus two brothers of Xerxes fought over the body of Leonidas, and fell; there was a fierce struggle between the Persians

<sup>1</sup> A common expression for the forenoon, between 9 and 11 a.m.

<sup>2</sup> Leake says "the descent was not much less than the ascent in actual distance"; only as the ground was better, and the march performed by daylight, the time spent was shorter.

<sup>3</sup> These names were all inscribed

on a pillar at Sparta, which remained standing in the time of Pausanias (A.D. 170).

<sup>4</sup> The sons of Darius cannot really have had names so thoroughly Greek as these. We must suppose them to be the Greek equivalents of the Persian names, or Persian names distorted into a Greek shape.

and the Lacedæmonians, in which the Greeks four times drove back the enemy, and at last by their bravery succeeded in bearing off the body. This combat was scarcely ended when the Persians with Epialtes approached; as soon as the Greeks knew they were near, they changed the manner of their fighting. Drawing back into the narrowest part of the pass, and retreating even behind the cross wall, they posted themselves upon the hillock, where they stood all drawn up in one close body, except the Thebans only. This hillock is at the entrance,<sup>1</sup> where the stone lion stands which was set up in honour of Leonidas. Here they defended themselves to the last, such as still had swords using them, and the others resisting with their hands and teeth; till the barbarians, who in part had pulled down the wall and attacked them in front, in part had gone round and now encircled them upon every side, overwhelmed and buried them beneath showers of missiles.

Thus nobly did the whole body of Lacedæmonians and Thespians behave; but one man is said to have distinguished himself above all the rest, Diēnēcēs the Spartan. A speech which he made, before the Greeks engaged the Medes, remains on record. One of the Trachinians told him, "Such was the number of the barbarians, that when they shot their arrows the sun would be darkened." Dieneces, not at all frightened at these words, but making light of the Median numbers, answered, "Our Trachinian friend brings us good news. If the Medes darken the sun, we shall fight in the shade." The slain were buried where they fell; and in their honour, and in honour too of those who died before Leonidas sent the allies away, an inscription was placed there, which said:—

"Here did four thousand men from Pelops' land<sup>2</sup>  
Against three hundred myriads bravely stand."

<sup>1</sup> There are two hillocks in the narrow portion of the pass, both of which are natural. Of these Colonel Leake regards the western, which is nearer the Phocian wall, and is in the very narrowest neck of the pass, as being more probably the scene of the last struggle, and therefore the site of the monument.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus seems to have mis-

conceived this inscription. He regarded it as an epitaph upon the Greeks slain at Thermopylæ. Hence he sets the number of the slain at 4,000. But it plainly appears from the wording to have been an inscription set up in honour of the *Peloponnesians* only, and to have referred to *all who fought*, not merely to those who fell.

This was in honour of all. Another was for the Spartans alone :—

“Go, stranger, and to Lacedæmon tell  
That here, obeying her behests, we fell.”

The seer had the following :—

“The great Megistias’ tomb you here may view,  
Whom slew the Medes, fresh from Spercheius’ fords.  
Well the wise seer the coming death foreknew,  
Yet scorned he to forsake his Spartan lords.”

These inscriptions, and the pillars, were all set up by the Amphictyons, except that in honour of Megistias, which was inscribed to him (on account of their sworn friendship) by Simōnidēs.

Two of the three hundred, it is said, Aristodēmus and Eurȳtus, when attacked by a disease of the eyes, had received orders from Leonidas to quit the camp ; and both lay at Alpeni in the worst stage of the malady. These two men, had they so wished, might have agreed together to return alive to Sparta ; or if they did not like to return, they might have both gone to the field and fallen with their countrymen. But at this time, when either plan was open, unhappily they could not agree, but took contrary courses. Eurytus no sooner heard that the Persians had come round the mountain, than straightway he called for his armour, and buckled it on, and bade his helot<sup>1</sup> lead him to the place where his friends were fighting. The helot did so, then turned and fled ; but Eurytus plunged into the thick of the battle, and perished so. Aristodemus was faint of heart, and remained at Alpeni. It is my belief that if Aristodemus only had been sick and returned, or if both had come back together, the Spartans would have been content and felt no anger ; but when there were two men with the same excuse, and one of them was chary of his life, while the other freely gave it, they could not but be indignant with Aristodemus. This is the account which some give of his escape. Others say, that he had been sent on a message with another man from the

<sup>1</sup> By the expression “*his helot*” attend constantly upon the Spartan we are to understand the special warrior, servant whose business it was to

army, and though it was in his power to return in time for the battle, he purposely loitered on the road, and so escaped ; while his fellow-messenger came back in time, and fell in the battle. When he returned to Lacedæmon, reproach and disgrace awaited him : disgrace, inasmuch as no Spartan would give him a light to kindle his fire, or so much as address a word to him ; and reproach, since all spoke of him as "the craven." However, he fully retrieved his honour afterwards at the battle of Plataea. Another of the three hundred is said to have survived the battle, a man named Pantitēs, whom Leonidas had sent on an embassy into Thessaly. On his return to Sparta, he found himself in such disgrace that he hanged himself.

The Thebans under the command of Leontiades remained with the Greeks, and fought against the barbarians, only so long as necessity compelled them. No sooner did they see victory inclining to the Persians, and the Greeks under Leonidas hurrying towards the hillock, than they moved away from their companions, and with hands upraised advanced towards the barbarians, exclaiming, as was indeed most true, "that they wished well to the Medes, and had been among the first to give earth and water to the king ; force alone had brought them to Thermopylæ ; they must not be blamed for the slaughter which had befallen the king's army." These words, the truth of which was attested by the Thessalians, gained the Thebans their lives. However, their good fortune was not without drawback ; for several of them were slain by the barbarians on their first approach ; and the rest, the greater number, had the royal mark branded on their bodies by the command of Xerxes, —Leontiades, their captain, was the first to suffer.

After the fight was over, Xerxes called for Demaratus to question him ; and began :—

"Demaratus, thou art a worthy man ; thy truthfulness proves it. All has happened as thou didst say. Now, tell me, how many Lacedæmonians are there left, and of those left how many are such brave warriors as these ? Or are they all alike ? "

"Sire !" replied the other, "the whole number of the Lacedæmonians is very great ; and their cities are many. But I will tell thee what thou dost wish to learn. There is a town of Lacedæmon, called Sparta, which contains within it about 8,000 full-grown men. They are, one and

all, equal to those who have fought here. The other Lacedæmonians are brave men, but not such warriors as these."

"Tell me now, Demaratus," rejoined Xerxes, "how we may with least trouble subdue these men. Thou must know all the issues of their counsels, as thou wast once their king."

Then Demaratus answered: "Sire! since thou dost ask my advice so earnestly, it is fitting that I should inform thee what I consider best. Detach 300 vessels from the body of thy fleet, and send them to attack the shores of Laconia. There is an island called Cythëra in those parts, not far from the coast, of which Chilon, one of our wisest men, once said, that Sparta would gain if it were sunk to the bottom of the sea—so constantly did he expect that it would give occasion to some project like that which I now recommend. I do not mean that he had a foreknowledge of thy attack on Greece; but in truth he feared all attacks. Send thy ships then to this island, and thence alarm the Spartans. If once they have a war of their own close to their doors, fear not their giving any help to the rest of the Greeks, while thy land force is engaged in conquering them. In this way all Greece may be subdued; then Sparta, left to herself, will be powerless. But if thou wilt not take this advice, I will tell thee what thou mayest look to see. When thou comest to the Peloponnese, thou wilt find a narrow neck of land, where all the Peloponnesians who are leagued against thee will be collected; there thou wilt have to fight bloodier battles than any which thou hast witnessed yet. If, however, thou wilt adopt my plan, the Isthmus and the cities of the Peloponnese will yield to thee without a battle."

Achæmënēs, who was present, now interposed, and spoke—he was Xerxes' brother, and, as he had the command of the fleet, he was afraid that Xerxes might be prevailed on to do as Demaratus wished.

"I perceive, sire, that thou art listening to the words of a man who is envious of thy fortune and seeks to betray thy cause. This is indeed the temper of all Greeks alike—they envy success, and hate power greater than their own. If, after we have lost 400 vessels by shipwreck, 300 more be sent away to make a voyage round the Peloponnese, our enemies will become a match

for us. But let us keep our whole fleet together and it will be dangerous for them to venture on an attack, as they will certainly be no match for us. Besides, while our sea and land forces advance together, the fleet and army can help each other; but if they be parted, no aid will come either from thee to the fleet, or from the fleet to thee. Only make thy own arrangements with care, and trouble not to inquire of the enemy,—where they will fight, or what they will do, or how many they are. Surely they can manage their own concerns without us, as we can ours without them. If the Lacedæmonians come out against the Persians to battle, they will scarce repair the disaster which has befallen them now.”

Xerxes replied: “Achæmenes, thy words please me well, and I will do as thou sayest. But Demaratus advised what he thought best—only his judgment was not so good as thine. Never will I believe that he does not wish my cause well; for that is disproved both by his former words and by facts. A citizen does indeed envy a fellow-citizen more lucky than himself, and often hates him secretly; if such a man be called on for advice, he will not give his best thought, unless indeed he be a man of exalted virtue; such are but rarely found. But a friend of another country delights in the fortune of his foreign friend, and will give him, when asked, the best advice in his power. Therefore I warn all men to abstain henceforth from speaking ill of Demaratus, for he is my friend.”

When Xerxes had thus spoken, he passed on among the slain; and finding the body of Leonidas, whom he knew to have been the Lacedæmonian king and general, he ordered that the head should be struck off, and the rest fastened to a cross. This proves to me most clearly, what is plain also in other ways,—that King Xerxes was more angry with Leonidas, while he was still in life, than with any other mortal. He would not else have used his body so shamefully. For, as a rule, the Persians honour those who show themselves valiant in fight more highly than any nation that I know. Those to whom the orders were given did as the king commanded.

The Greeks serving in the fleet were these. The Athenians sent 127 ships, manned in part by the Plataeans, who, though unskilled in such matters, were led by their active and daring spirit to undertake this duty; the Corinthians sent

40 vessels; the Megarians 20; the Chalcidians also manned 20, which had been lent them by the Athenians; the Æginetans came with 18; the Sicyonians with 12; the Lacedæmonians with 10; the Epidaurians with 8; the Eretrians with 7; the Trœzenians with 5; the Styreans with 2, and the Cœans with 2 triremes and 2 penteconters. Last of all, the Locrians of Opus came in aid with a squadron of 7 penteconters. The total number of the ships thus brought together, without counting the penteconters, was 271, and the captain who had the chief command over the whole fleet was Eurybiādēs. He was from Sparta, since the allies had said that, "if a Lacedæmonian did not take the command, they would break up the fleet, for they would never serve under Athenians." From the first, even earlier than the time when the embassy went to Sicily to ask alliance,<sup>1</sup> there had been a talk of entrusting the Athenians with the command at sea; but the allies were averse to the plan, and so the Athenians did not press it; for they had at heart the salvation of Greece, and knew that, if they quarrelled about the command, Greece would be brought to ruin. Herein they judged aright; for internal quarrelling is as much worse than war waged by a united people, as war is worse than peace. The Athenians knew this and did not push their claims, but waived them, as long as they were in great need of aid from the other Greeks. Afterwards they showed their motive; for when the Persians had been driven from Greece, and were now threatened by the Greeks on Persian soil, the Athenians took occasion of the insolence of Pausanias to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their lead. This, however, happened later.

At present when the Greeks, on their arrival at Artemisium, saw the number of ships anchored near Aphētæ, and troops in abundance everywhere, they were disappointed that the barbarian power was much greater than they thought; and alarmed at what they saw, they began to speak of drawing back from Artemisium towards the inner parts of Greece. When the Eubœans heard what was in debate, they besought Eurybiades to wait a few days, while they removed their children and their slaves to a place of safety. But as they could not prevail, they left him and went to Themistōclēs, the Athenian commander, and gave him a

bribe of thirty talents,<sup>1</sup> on his promise that the fleet should remain and risk a battle to defend Eubœa. Then Themistocles detained the fleet. He handed Eurybiades five talents out of the thirty paid him, which he gave as if from himself; in this way he gained this admiral's support; next he addressed himself to Adeimantus, the Corinthian commander, the only one who resisted now; he still threatened to sail away from Artemisium and not wait for the other captains. To this man Themistocles thus spoke, adding an oath: "Wilt thou forsake us? It must not be! I will pay thee better for remaining than the Medæ would for leaving thy friends"—and at once he sent on board the ship of Adeimantus three talents of silver. So these two captains were won by the force of bribes to the side of Themistocles, who thereby gratified the Eubœans. He made his own gain too; for he kept the rest of the money, and no one knew. Those who took the gifts thought that the money had been sent from Athens to be used so. Thus the Greeks stayed at Eubœa and gave battle to the foe.

The barbarians reached Aphetæ in the early afternoon, and then saw (as they had previously heard reported) that a fleet of Greek ships, weak in number, lay at Artemisium. They were eager to engage at once, fearing that the Greeks would go, and hoping to capture them before they should get away. They did not, however, think it wise to make straight for the Greek station, lest the enemy should see them as they bore down, and betake themselves to flight immediately; in which case night might close in before they came up with the fugitives, and so they might get off and make their escape; whereas the Persians purposed to let no man, nay not the torchbearer himself, escape their hands.<sup>2</sup> So they contrived a plan: they detached 200 of their ships, and—to prevent the enemy from seeing them start—sent them round outside the island of Sciathos, to make the

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch admits this conduct on the part of Themistocles (*Vit. Them.* c. 7), which is quite in accordance with his general character. He gives the name of the Eubœan who brought the money as Pēlāgon. Thirty talents would be about £7,000 of our money.

<sup>2</sup> In the Spartan armies there was a sacred torch-bearer, whose business it was to preserve alight the holy

fire kindled from the altar of Zeus at Sparta, which was wanted for the various sacrifices offered during an expedition (*Xen. Rep. Lac.* xiii. §§ 2, 3). As the fire was considered to be of vital importance, every effort was made to defend the "torch-bearer," and he seldom fell unless the whole army was destroyed. The expression passed into a proverb.



circuit of Eubœa by Caphāreūs and Geræstus, and so to reach the Eurīpus. By this plan they hoped to enclose the Greeks on every side; for the ships detached would block up the only way by which they could retreat, whilst the others would press upon them in front. With these designs they despatched the 200 ships, while they waited themselves—for they did not mean to attack the Greeks that day, or until they knew by signal of the arrival of the detachment ordered to sail round Eubœa. Meanwhile they mustered the other ships at Aphetæ.

Now the Persians had with them a native of Sciōnē, one Scyllias, the most expert diver of his day. At the time of the shipwreck off Mount Pelion he had recovered for the Persians a great part of what they lost; at the same time he had taken a good share of the treasure for himself. He had been for some time wishing to go over to the Greeks; but no good opportunity had offered until now. In what way he contrived to reach the Greeks I cannot say for certain: I wonder much if the tale commonly told be true. It is said he dived into the sea at Aphetæ, and did not once rise to the surface till he reached Artemisium, a distance of nearly eighty furlongs.<sup>1</sup> Now many things related of this man are plainly false; but some of the stories seem to be true. My own opinion is that on this occasion he crossed to Artemisium in a boat. However this might be, Scyllias no sooner reached Artemisium than he gave the Greek commanders a full account of the damage done by the storm, and of the ships sent to make the circuit of Eubœa.

The Greeks then held a council, at which, after much debate, they resolved to stay quiet for the present where they were, and remain at their moorings, but after midnight to put out to sea, and encounter the ships which were on their way round the island. Later in the day, when they found that no one meddled with them, they formed a new plan, which was this—to wait till near evening, and then sail out against the main body of the barbarians, for the purpose of testing their mode of fight and skill in manœuvring. When the Persian commanders and crews saw the Greeks thus boldly sailing towards them with their few ships, they thought them mad, and went out to meet

<sup>1</sup> The distance across the strait more than sixty stades or "furlongs" is about seven miles, or little more.

them, expecting (as indeed seemed likely) that they would take all their vessels with the greatest ease. The Greek ships were so few, and their own so far outnumbered them and sailed so much better, that, as they saw their advantage, they resolved to surround them on every side. Now such of the Ionians as wished well to the Greek cause and served in the Persian fleet unwillingly, seeing their countrymen surrounded, were much distressed; for they knew that not one of them would escape, so poor an opinion had they of the strength of the Greeks. Such as saw with pleasure the attack on Greece, now vied eagerly with each other which should first make prize of an Athenian ship, and thereby secure a rich reward from the king. For through both the hosts none were so much regarded as the Athenians.

The Greeks, at a signal, brought the sterns of their ships together into a small compass, and turned their prows on every side towards the barbarians; after which, at a second signal, although enclosed within a narrow space, and close pressed by the foe, yet they fell bravely to work, and captured thirty ships of the barbarians, at the same time taking prisoner Philaon, the brother of Gorgus, king of Salamis in Cyprus, a man of much repute in the fleet. The first who made prize of a ship of the enemy was Lycomêdês, an Athenian, who was afterwards awarded the prize of valour. Victory was still doubtful when night came on, and put a stop to the combat. The Greeks sailed back to Artemisium; and the barbarians returned to Aphetæ, much surprised at the result, which was far other than they had looked for. In this battle only one of the Greeks who fought on the side of the king deserted and joined his countrymen. This was Antidôrus of Lemnos, whom the Athenians rewarded for his desertion by the present of land in the island of Salamis. Evening had barely closed when a heavy rain—it was about midsummer—began to fall, which continued the whole night, with terrible thunderings and lightnings from Mount Pelion: the bodies of the slain and the broken pieces of damaged ships were drifted in the direction of Aphetæ, and floated about the prows of the vessels, disturbing the action of the oars. The barbarians, on hearing the storm, were greatly dismayed, expecting certainly to perish, as they had fallen into such a multitude of misfortunes. For, before they were well recovered from

the tempest and the wreck of their vessels off Mount Pelion, they had been surprised by a sea-fight which taxed all their strength, and now the sea-fight was scarcely over when there came floods of rain, and the rush of swollen streams into the sea, and violent thunderings. If, however, those who lay at Aphetæ passed a comfortless night, far worse were the sufferings of those who had been sent to make the circuit of Eubœa; inasmuch as the storm fell on them out at sea, and the result was calamitous. They were sailing along near the Hollows of Eubœa, when the wind began to rise and the rain to pour: overpowered by the gale, and driven they knew not where, at last they fell upon rocks,—God so contriving that the Persian fleet might not greatly exceed the Greek, but be brought nearly to its level. This squadron, therefore, was lost about the Hollows of Eubœa.

The barbarians at Aphetæ were glad when day dawned, and remained quiet at their station, content if they might enjoy a little peace after so many sufferings. Meanwhile there came to the aid of the Greeks a reinforcement of 53 ships from Attica.<sup>1</sup> Their arrival, and the news, which reached Artemisium about the same time, of the complete destruction by the storm of the ships sent to sail round Eubœa, greatly cheered the spirits of the Greek sailors. So they waited again till the same hour as the day before, and, once more putting out to sea, attacked the enemy. This time they fell in with some Cilician vessels, which they sank; when night came on, they withdrew to Artemisium. The third day was now come, and the captains of the barbarians, ashamed that so small a number of ships should harass their fleet, and afraid of the anger of Xerxes, instead of waiting for the others to begin the battle, weighed anchor themselves, and advanced against the Greeks about the hour of noon, encouraging one another with shouts. Now it happened that these sea-fights took place on the very same days with the combats at Ther-

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the raised their navy to 200 vessels, whole of the Athenian reserve fleet. which were now all brought into The policy of Themistocles had active service:—

127 manned by the Athenians and Plataeans, p. 121.

20 manned by the Chalcidian colonists, p. 122.

53 which now arrived after the storm.

mopylæ; and as the aim of the struggle was in the one case to maintain the pass, so was it in the other to defend the Euripus. While the Greeks, therefore, urged one another not to let the barbarians in on Greece, these shouted to their friends to destroy the Greek fleet, and get possession of the channel.

Now the fleet of Xerxes advanced in good order to the attack, while the Greeks on their side remained quite motionless at Artemisium. The Persians therefore spread out, and came forward in a half-moon, trying to encircle the Greeks on all sides, and so prevent them from escaping. When they saw this, the Greeks sailed out to meet their assailants; and the battle forthwith began. In this engagement the two fleets contended with no clear advantage to either,—for the armament of Xerxes injured itself by its own size, the vessels falling into disorder, and often running foul of one another; still they did not give way, but made a stout fight, since the crews felt it would be a disgrace indeed to turn and fly from a fleet so inferior in number. The Greeks therefore suffered much, both in ships and men; but the barbarians experienced a far larger loss of each. So the fleets separated after such a combat as I have described. On the side of Xerxes the Egyptians distinguished themselves above all the combatants; for besides performing many other noble deeds, they took five vessels from the Greeks with their crews on board. Of the Greeks the Athenians bore off the prize of valour; and among them the most distinguished was Cleinias, the son of Alcibiades,<sup>1</sup> who served at his own cost with 200 men, on board a vessel which he had himself supplied.

The two fleets, on separating, hastened very gladly to their anchorage-grounds. The Greeks, indeed, when the battle was over, became masters of the bodies of the slain and the wrecks of the vessels; but they had been so roughly handled, especially the Athenians, one-half of whose vessels had suffered damage, that they thought of breaking up from their station, and withdrawing to the interior of their country. Then Themistocles, who thought that if the Ionian and Carian ships could be detached from

<sup>1</sup> This Cleinias was the father of the great Alcibiades, whom he left a mere child at his death, which took place B.C. 447, in the battle of Coronea.

the barbarian fleet, the Greeks might be well able to defeat the rest, called the commanders together. They met upon the sea-shore, where the Eubœans were now assembling their flocks and herds; and here Themistocles told them he thought he knew of a plan whereby he could detach from the king his most valued allies. This was all that he disclosed of his plan. Meanwhile, under present circumstances, he advised them to slaughter as many of the Eubœan cattle as they liked—for it was better that their own troops should enjoy them than the enemy—and to give orders to their men to kindle the fires as usual. With regard to the retreat, he said he would watch the proper moment, and would manage that they should return to Greece without loss. Of this advice the commanders approved; so they had the fires lit, and began the slaughter of the cattle. The Eubœans, until now, had made light of the oracle of Bacis, as though it had meant nothing, and had neither removed their goods from the island, nor taken them into their strong places; they would have done so if they had believed that war was near. By this neglect they had run into the very greatest danger. Now the oracle was this:—

“When o’er the main shall be thrown a byblus yoke by a stranger,  
Be thou ware, and drive from Eubœa the goats loud bleating.”

So, as the Eubœans had paid no regard to this oracle when the evils approached and impended, now that they had arrived, the worst was likely to befall them.

While the Greeks were employed in this way, the scout who had been on the watch at Trachis arrived at Artemisium. For the Greeks had employed two watchers: Pölyas, a native of Anticyra, had been stationed off Artemisium, with a rowing-boat at his command ready to start at any moment, his order being that, if an engagement took place by sea, he should convey the news at once to the Greeks at Thermopylæ; Abrōnŷchus, an Athenian, too, had been stationed with a triaconter near Leonidas, to be ready, in case of disaster befalling the land force, to carry tidings of it to Artemisium. It was this Abronychus who now arrived with news of what had befallen Leonidas and those who were with him. When the Greeks heard what had happened they no longer delayed their retreat, but withdrew in the order in which they had

been stationed, the Corinthians leading, and the Athenians sailing last of all. Themistocles chose out the swiftest sailers from among the Athenian vessels, and, proceeding to the various watering-places along the coast, cut inscriptions on the rocks, which were read by the Ionians the day following, on their arrival at Artemisium. The inscriptions ran thus: "Ionians, ye do wrong to fight against your own fathers, and to give your help to enslave Greece. We beseech you therefore to come over, if possible, to our side: if you cannot do this, then, we pray you, stand aloof from the contest yourselves, and persuade the Carians to do the same. If neither be possible, and you are hindered by a force too strong to resist from venturing upon desertion, at least when we come to blows be backward in fighting, remembering that you are sprung from us, and that it was through you we first provoked the hatred of the barbarian." Themistocles, in putting up these inscriptions, looked, I believe, to two chances: either Xerxes would not discover them, in which case they might bring over the Ionians to the Greeks; or they would be reported to him, and made a ground of accusation against the Ionians, who would thereby be distrusted, and not allowed to take part in the sea-fights. Shortly after the cutting of the inscriptions, a man of Histiaëa went in a merchant-ship to Aphetæ, and told the Persians that the Greeks had fled from Artemisium. Disbelieving his report, the Persians kept the man a prisoner, while they sent some of their fastest vessels to see what had happened. These brought back word how matters stood; whereupon at sunrise the whole fleet advanced in a body, and sailed to Artemisium, where they remained till mid-day; after which they went on to Histiaëa. That city fell into their hands immediately; and they shortly overran the various villages upon the coast in the district of Hellöpia, which was part of the Histiaëan territory. While they were here, a herald reached them from Xerxes. For meanwhile of the 20,000 men who had been slain at Thermopylæ on the Persian side, Xerxes had left 1,000 bodies on the field, while he buried the rest in trenches; these he carefully filled with earth, and hid with foliage, that the sailors might not see any signs of them. On reaching Histiaëa, the herald caused the whole force to be called together and spoke to them:—

“Comrades, King Xerxes gives permission to all who please to quit their posts, and see how he fights with the senseless men who thought to overthrow his armies.”

No sooner had he spoken, than there was scarcely a boat to be had, so great was the number of those who desired to see the sight. Such as went crossed the strait, and passing among the heaps of dead thus viewed the spectacle. Many *hēlōts* were included in the slain, but every one imagined that the bodies were all either Lacedæmonians or Thespians. However, no one was deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead. It was indeed a laughable device—on the one side 1,000 men were seen lying about the field, on the other 4,000 crowded together into one spot. This day was given up to sight-seeing; on the next the seamen went on board their ships and sailed back to Histiaæa, while Xerxes and his army proceeded upon their march.

There had come now a few deserters from Arcadia to join the Persians—poor men who had nothing to live on, and wanted employment. The Persians brought them into the king's presence, and there inquired of them, by a man who acted as their spokesman, “what the Greeks were doing?” The Arcadians answered, “They are holding the Olympic games, watching the athletic sports and the chariot-races.” “And what,” said the man, “is the prize for which they compete?” “An olive-wreath,” returned the others, “which is given to the man who wins.” On hearing this, Tritan-tæchmes, the son of Artabānus, expressed an opinion which was in truth most noble, but for which Xerxes taxed him with cowardice. When he heard the men say that the prize was not money but a wreath of olive, he could not forbear exclaiming before them all: “Good heavens! Mardōnius, what men are these against whom thou hast brought us to fight?—men who compete for honour, not for money!” A little before this, and just after the blow had been struck at Thermopylæ, a herald was sent into Phōcis by the Thessalians, who had always been on bad terms with the Phocians, with this message:—

“Acknowledge at length, men of Phocis, that ye are no match for us. In times past, when it pleased us to hold with the Greeks, we had always the advantage over you; and now our influence is such with the barbarian, that, if we choose it, you will lose your country, and will be

sold as slaves. However, though we can do with you as we like, we are willing to forget our wrongs. Quit them with a payment of fifty talents of silver,<sup>1</sup> and we undertake to ward off the evils which threaten your country."

Now the Phocians were the only people in these parts who did not espouse the cause of the Medes; and it is my deliberate opinion that the motive which swayed them was none other—either more or less—than their hatred of the Thessalians: for had the Thessalians declared in favour of the Greeks, I believe that the Phocians would have joined the Median side. As it was, when the message arrived, they answered that "they would pay nothing—it was open to them, as to the Thessalians, to make common cause with the Medes, if only they chose—but they would never of their own free will become traitors to Greece."

(vi.) XERXES MARCHES ON ATHENS AND CAPTURES IT.  
THE GREEK FLEET AT SALAMIS.

On the return of the Phocian answer, the Thessalians, now very angry with the Phocians, offered themselves as guides to the barbarian army, and led them from Trachinia into Dōris. In this place there was a narrow tongue of Dorian territory, not more than thirty furlongs across, interposed between Mālis and Phocis. This territory the barbarians did not plunder, for the inhabitants were on their side; besides, the Thessalians wished them to be spared. From Doris they marched on into Phocis; but here the inhabitants did not fall into their power, for some of them had taken refuge in the high grounds of Parnassus: one summit of this, called Tīthōrēa, standing quite by itself, not far from the city of Neōn, is well fitted to shelter a large body of men, and had now received a number of the Phocians with their movables; while the greater portion had fled to the country of the Ozōlian Locrians, to the city called Amphissa, which lies above the Crisæan plain. The land of Phocis, however, was entirely overrun, for the Thessalians led the Persian army through the whole of it; and wherever they went, the country was wasted with fire and sword, the cities, and

<sup>1</sup> Rather more than £12,000 of our money.



even the temples, being wilfully set alight by the troops. The march of the army lay along the valley of the Cephissus; and here they ravaged far and wide. At Abæ there was a temple of Apollo, very rich, and adorned with a large number of treasures and offerings. There was an oracle there too in those days, as indeed there is at present. This temple the Persians plundered and burnt; and here they captured a number of the Phocians before they could reach the hills, and caused the death of some of their women by ill-usage. At Pānōpēūs<sup>1</sup> the army separated into two bodies; one, the more numerous and stronger, marched under Xerxes himself towards Athens, and entered Bœotia by the country of the Orchōmēnians. The Bœotians had one and all embraced the cause of the Medes: and their towns were in the possession of Macedonian garrisons; King Alexander had sent them there, to make it clear to Xerxes that the Bœotians were on the Median side. The other division took guides, and proceeded towards the temple of Delphi, keeping Mount Parnassus on their right; they laid waste such parts of Phocis as they passed through. This body had been detached from the rest of the army, and sent in this direction, for the purpose of plundering the Delphian temple and conveying to King Xerxes the riches which were there. For Xerxes, as I am informed, was better acquainted with what there was worthy of note at Delphi, than with what he had left in his own house; so many of those about him were continually describing the treasures—more especially the offerings made by Croesus, king of Lydia (B.C. 550).

Now, when the Delphians heard of their danger, great fear fell on them. In their terror they consulted the oracle about the holy treasures, and inquired if they should bury them in the ground, or carry them away to some other country. The god, in reply, bade them leave the treasures untouched—"He was able," he said, "to protect his own." So when the Delphians received this answer, they began to think about saving themselves. First they sent their women and children across the gulf into Achæa; after this the greater number climbed up

<sup>1</sup> Panopeus was the frontier town of Phocis towards Bœotia in the valley of the Cephissus. It lay beyond the defile which formed the natural boundary between the two countries, and within about two miles of the Bœotian city of Chærōnæa.

into the tops of Parnassus, and placed their goods for safety in the Cōrycīan cave;<sup>1</sup> while some escaped to Amphissa in Locris. In this way all the Delphians quitted the city, except sixty men, and the Prophet. When the barbarian assailants drew near and were in sight of the place,<sup>2</sup> the Prophet, who was named Acērātus, beheld in front of the temple a portion of the sacred armour, which it was not lawful for mortal hand to touch, lying upon the ground, removed from the inner shrine where it usually hung. Then he went and told the Delphians who had remained. Meanwhile the enemy pressed forward quickly, and had reached the shrine of Athēnē Pronāia, when they were overtaken by other marvellous events, still more wonderful than the first. Truly it was wonderful enough, when arms of war were seen lying outside the temple, removed there by no power but their own; what followed, however, exceeded in strangeness all that had ever been seen. The barbarians had just reached in their advance the chapel of Athene Pronaia, when a storm of thunder burst suddenly over their heads—at the same time two crags split off from Mount Parnassus, and rolled down upon them with a loud noise, crushing vast numbers beneath their weight—while from the temple of Athene there went up the war-cry and the shout of victory. All these things together struck terror into the barbarians, who forthwith turned and fled. When the Delphians saw this, they came down from their hiding-places, and slew large numbers of them; such as escaped fled straight to Bœotia. These men, on their return, declared (I am told) that besides the marvels mentioned above, they witnessed also other supernatural sights. Two armed warriors, of superhuman stature, pursued their flying ranks, pressing them close and slaying them. These men, the Delphians maintain, were two heroes belonging to the

<sup>1</sup> The Corycian cave, sacred to Pan and the Nymphs, is clearly identified by its position, its size, and an inscription at its entrance. It is in the side of a conical hill rising out of the basin, on which the traveller comes after mounting the heights immediately behind Delphi, from which it is distant about seven miles in a direction nearly due north.

The entrance is about nineteen

feet broad; the cave then increases to thirty-three feet, and to eighty-eight in the broadest part; the length is 184 feet, to the part where it curves, and is half closed by stalactites; and beyond that it extends about the same distance; so that in former times it appeared much longer than at present.

<sup>2</sup> Delphi stood on the side of a rocky hill, in the form of a theatre.

place, Phylacus and Autōnōūs; each of them has a sacred precinct near the temple: one, that of Phylacus, hard by the road which runs above the temple of Pronaia; the other, that of Autonoūs, near the Castalian spring,<sup>1</sup> at the foot of the peak called Hyampēia. The blocks of stone which fell from Parnassus might still be seen in my day; they lay in the precincts of Pronaia, where they stopped, after rolling through the host of the barbarians. Thus was this body of men forced to retire from the temple.

Meanwhile, the Greek fleet, which had left Artemisium, proceeded to Salamis, at the request of the Athenians, and there cast anchor. The Athenians had begged them to take up this position, that they might convey their women and children out of Attica, and further deliberate upon the course to be followed. Disappointed in their hopes, they were about to hold a council concerning the present crisis. For they had expected to see the Peloponnesians drawn up in full force to resist the enemy in Boeotia, but found nothing of the kind; nay, they learnt that the Greeks of those parts, only concerning themselves about their own safety, were building a wall across the Isthmus, and intended to guard the Peloponnese, and let the rest of Greece take its chance. This news caused them to make the request that the combined fleet should anchor at Salamis. So while the rest of the fleet lay to off this island, the Athenians cast anchor along their own coast. Immediately on their arrival proclamation was made, that every Athenian should save his children and household as best he could;<sup>2</sup> whereupon some sent their families to Ægina, some to Salamis, but the greater number to Trœzēn. This removal was made with all possible haste, partly from a desire to obey the advice of the oracle, but still more for another reason. The Athenians say that they have in their Acropolis a huge serpent, which lives in the temple, and is

<sup>1</sup> The Castalian spring may be distinctly recognised, from this passage and the description of Pausanias (x. viii. § 5), in the modern fountain of *Aio Jānni*. It lies at the base of the precipices of Parnassus, on the right of the road by which alone Delphi can be approached from the east, at the mouth of a ravine which

separates the two great Delphian peaks. The rock has been excavated, steps made to lead down into the pool, and niches cut in the stone over it.

<sup>2</sup> The Athenian who, without such proclamation, left his country at a time of danger was considered guilty of a capital offence.

the guardian of the place. Nor is this all, but every month they lay out its food for it there—a honey-cake. Up to this time the honey-cake had always been consumed; now it remained untouched. So the priestess told the people what had happened; and they left Athens more readily, since they believed that the goddess had abandoned the citadel. As soon as all was removed, the Athenians sailed back to their station.

By this time the remainder of the Greek sea-force, hearing that the fleet, which had been at Artemisium, was come to Salamis, joined it at that island from Trœzen; previous orders had been given that the ships must muster at Pōgōn, the port of the Trœzenians. The vessels collected were many more in number than those which had fought at Artemisium,<sup>1</sup> and were sent by more cities. The admiral was Eurybiades, the same who had commanded before; he was a Spartan, but not of the family of the kings. The city, however, which sent by far the greatest number of ships, and those the best sailers, was Athens.

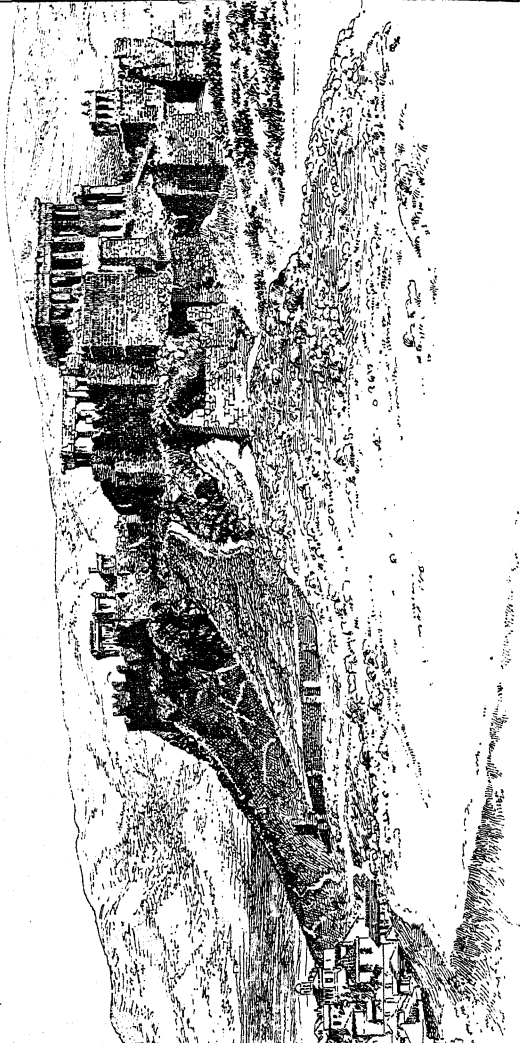
Now these were the states who composed the Greek fleet. From the Peloponnese, the Lacedæmonians with 16 ships; the Corinthians with the same number as at Artemisium, 40; the Sicyōnians with 15; the Epidaurians with 10; the Trœzenians with 5; and the Hermionians with 3. From the mainland of Greece beyond the Peloponnese came the Athenians with 180 ships, a greater number than that sent by any other people; and these were now manned wholly by themselves; for the Platæans did not serve on board the Athenian ships at Salamis,<sup>2</sup> for this reason: when the Greeks, on their withdrawal from Artemisium, arrived off Chalcis, the Platæans disembarked upon the opposite shore of Bœotia, and set to work to remove their households; so they were left behind. The Megarians served with the same number of ships as at Artemisium, 20; the Ambraciots came with 7; the Leucadians with 3. Of the islanders, the Æginetans sent 30 ships—they had a larger number equipped; but some were kept back to guard their own coasts, and only 30, which, however, were their best sailers, took part in the fight at Salamis. The Chalcidians sent the 20 with which they had served at Artemisium; the Eretrians

their 7. Cēos gave its old number, 2 triremes and 2 penteconters; Naxos 4; this detachment, like those from the other islands, had been sent by the citizens at home to join the Medes, but disregarded the orders given them, and joined the Greeks, at the instigation of Dēmōcritus, a citizen of good repute who was at that time captain of a trireme. The Styreāns served with the same as before, 2; the Cythnians contributed 1 and a penteconter; the Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians also served—they were the only islanders who had not given earth and water to the barbarian. From the countries beyond Greece there was only one people which gave help to Greece in her danger. This was the people of Crōtōn (Cortōna) in Italy, who contributed a single ship, under the command of Phaÿllus, a man who had thrice carried off the prize at the Pythian games. The Crotoniats are, by descent, Achæans. Most of the allies came with triremes; but the Melians, Siphnians, and Seriphians brought penteconters—the Melians two, the Siphnians and Seriphians one each. The whole number of the ships, without counting the penteconters, was 378.<sup>1</sup>

When the commanders from these various states had met at Salamis, a council of war was summoned; and Eurybiades proposed that any one who liked to advise should say which place seemed to him the most fit, among those still in the possession of the Greeks, to be the scene of a naval combat. Attica was not to be thought of now; but he desired their advice as to the remainder. The speakers mostly urged that the fleet should sail away to the Isthmus, and there fight in defence of the Peloponnese; they gave as a reason for this that, if they were worsted in a sea-fight at Salamis, they would be shut up in an island where they could get no help; but if they were beaten near the Isthmus they could escape to their homes. As the

<sup>1</sup> The number produced by adding the several contingents together is not 378, but 366. Some suppose that twelve Æginetan ships, employed in guarding Ægina, are included by Herodotus in his total; but this is a very forced explanation of the difficulty. Herodotus is giving an account of the ships actually mustered, and would have no more reason for including the vessels in reserve in Ægina than those retained by other states—Corinth, for instance, which must have had a naval force of about forty triremes. Disagreement in numbers meets us at every turn in Herodotus. Whether it proceeds from his own carelessness, or from the corruption of the MSS., must be left to the judgment of the reader.





THE ACROPOLIS, ATHENS.

commanders from the Peloponnese were thus advising, an Athenian came to the camp, with news that the barbarians had entered Attica, and were ravaging and burning everything. For the division of the army under Xerxes had just arrived at Athens from its march through Bœotia, where it had burnt Thespiæ and Plataea—both these cities had been forsaken by their inhabitants, who had fled to the Peloponnese—and now it was laying waste all the possessions of the Athenians. Thespiæ and Plataea had been burnt by the Persians, because they knew from the Thebans that neither of those cities had taken their side.

Since the passage of the Hellespont and the commencement of the march upon Greece, four months had gone by: one while the army made the crossing, and delayed about the region of the Hellespont; and three in their march to Attica. They found the city forsaken; a few people only remained in the temple, either keepers of the treasures, or poor men. These fortified the citadel<sup>1</sup> with planks and boards, and held out against the enemy. It was in some measure their poverty which had prevented them from seeking shelter in Salamis; but there was another reason which in part induced them to remain. They imagined themselves to have discovered the true meaning of the oracle uttered by the priestess, which promised that "the wooden wall" should never be taken—the wooden wall, they thought, was not the ships, but their place of refuge. The Persians encamped upon the hill opposite the citadel, which is called the Hill of Ares (Areopagus) by the Athenians, and began the siege of the place, attacking the Greeks with arrows with pieces of lighted tow attached, which they shot at the barricade. Those who were within the citadel now found themselves in a terrible plight; for their wooden rampart betrayed them; still they continued to resist. It was in vain that the Pisistratidæ came and offered them terms of surrender—

<sup>1</sup> The Athenian citadel, or Acropolis, is an oblong craggy hill, rising abruptly from the plain on three sides, and on the fourth, which is towards the west, sloping steeply down to the base of a second hill (the Areopagus), which is one of a group of rocky elevations lying west and south-west of the citadel, in the line between it and the Piræus.

The summit of the Acropolis is said to be 400 feet above the level of the plain. It is a platform, about 1,000 feet long by 500 broad. The only practicable access was at the western extremity. It was here that the few Athenians who remained in the town had hastily raised their wooden defences.



they stoutly refused all parley, and among their other modes of defence, rolled down huge masses of stone upon the barbarians as they were climbing up to the gates: Xerxes was for a long time greatly perplexed, and could not contrive to take them. At last, in the midst of these many difficulties, the barbarians discovered an access. The oracle had spoken truth; and it was fated that the whole mainland of Attica should fall under the sway of the Persians. Right in front of the citadel, but behind the gates and the ordinary ascent—where no watch was kept, and no one would have thought it possible for man to climb—a few soldiers mounted from the sanctuary of Aglaurus, Cecrops' daughter,<sup>1</sup> notwithstanding the steepness of the precipice. As soon as the Athenians saw them upon the summit, some threw themselves headlong from the wall, and perished; while others fled for refuge into the inner part of the temple. The Persians rushed to the gates and opened them, and then massacred the suppliants. When all were slain, they plundered the temple, and fired every part of the citadel.

Xerxes, thus completely master of Athens, despatched a horseman to Susa, with a message to Artabānus, informing him of his success so far. The day after, he collected all the Athenian exiles who had come into Greece in his train, and bade them go up to the citadel, and there offer sacrifice after their own fashion. I do not know whether he had had a dream which made him give this order, or whether he felt remorse for having set the temple on fire. However this may have been, the exiles were not slow to obey the command. I will now explain why I have mentioned this: there is a temple of Erechthēus the Earth-born, as he is called, in this citadel, containing within it an olive-tree and a sea.<sup>2</sup> The tale goes among the Athenians, that they were placed there as witnesses by Poseidōn and Athēnē, when they had their dispute about the country. Now this olive-tree had been burnt with the rest of the temple when the barbarians took the place. But when the Athenians whom the king had commanded to offer

<sup>1</sup> Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops, was said to have thrown herself over the precipices of the Acropolis.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias (i. xxvi. § 6) tells us that this "sea" was a well of salt

water. He believed it to communicate with the Ægean (VIII. x. § 3), the roar of which it conveyed to the ear, when the wind blew from the south. No trace of any such well can be now found.

sacrifice went up into the temple next day, they found a fresh shoot, as much as a cubit in length, thrown out from the old trunk. Such at least was the account which they gave.

Meanwhile, at Salamis, the Greeks no sooner heard what had befallen the Athenian citadel, than they became so alarmed that some of the commanders did not even wait for a vote, but embarked hastily on board their vessels, and hoisted sail as though they would take to flight immediately. The rest, who stayed behind, came to a vote, that the fleet should give battle at the Isthmus. Night now drew on; and the commanders dispersed from the meeting and went on board their ships. As Themistoclēs entered his own vessel, he was met by Mnēsiphilus, an Athenian, who asked him what the council had resolved to do. On learning that the resolve was to stand away for the Isthmus, and there give battle on behalf of the Peloponnese, Mnesiphilus exclaimed:—

“If these men sail away from Salamis, thou wilt have no fight at all for the fatherland; for they will all scatter to their own homes; and neither Eurybiades nor any one else will be able to hinder them, nor to stop the breaking up of the armament. Thus will Greece be brought to ruin through evil counsels. But hasten now; and, if there be any way, strive to unsettle these resolves—perchance thou canst persuade Eurybiades to change his mind, and continue here.”

The suggestion greatly pleased Themistocles; and without a word he went straight to the vessel of Eurybiades. Arrived there, he let him know that he wanted to speak to him on a matter of public service. So Eurybiades bade him come on board, and say whatever he wished. Then Themistocles sat himself down at his side, and went over all the arguments which he had heard from Mnesiphilus, making them his own, and added many new reasons besides; until at last he persuaded Eurybiades, by his importunity, to quit his ship and again collect the commanders in council. As soon as they were come, before Eurybiades had explained his purpose in assembling them, Themistocles spoke at great length to them, as men do when very anxious, whereupon the Corinthian commander, Adeimantus, said, “Themistocles, at the games they who start too soon are scourged.” “True,” rejoined the other in

excuse; "but they who wait too long lose the crown." Thus he gave the Corinthian at this time a mild answer. Towards Eurybiades himself he did not now use any of those arguments which he had urged before, or speak at all of the allies betaking themselves to flight if once they broke up from Salamis; it would have been ungracious of him, when the confederates were present, to bring accusations against any: but he had recourse to quite a new line of reasoning, and addressed him thus:—

"It rests with thee, Eurybiades, to save Greece, if thou wilt only hearken to me, and give the enemy battle here, instead of yielding to the advice of those among us who would have the fleet withdrawn to the Isthmus. Hear now, I beseech thee, and judge between the two. At the Isthmus thou wilt fight in an open sea, which is greatly to our disadvantage, since our ships are heavier and fewer in number than the enemy's; and further, thou wilt in any case lose Salamis, Megara, and Ægina, even if all the rest goes well with us. The land and sea force of the Persians will advance together; and thy retreat will but draw them towards the Peloponnese, and so bring all Greece into peril. If, on the other hand, thou wilt do as I advise, these are the advantages thou wilt secure: in the first place, as we shall fight in a narrow sea with few ships against many, if the war follows the usual course, we shall gain a great victory; for to fight in a narrow space is favourable to us—in an open sea, to them. Again, Salamis will in this case be preserved, where we have placed our wives and children. Nay, that very point by which ye set most store is secured as much by this as by the other plan; for whether we fight here or at the Isthmus, we shall equally give battle in defence of the Peloponnese. Assuredly ye will not do wisely to draw the Persians upon that region. For if the results are what I foresee, and we beat them by sea, then we shall have kept your Isthmus free from the barbarians, and they will have advanced no further than Attica, but have fled back in disorder; and we shall, moreover, have saved Megara, Ægina, and Salamis itself, where an oracle has said that we are to conquer our enemies. When men counsel reasonably, reasonable success results; but when in their counsels they reject reason, God does not choose to follow the wanderings of human fancies."

When Themistocles had thus spoken, Adeimantus the Corinthian again attacked him, and bade him be silent, since he was a man without a fatherland; at the same time he called on Eurybiades not to put the question at the instance of a man without a city, and urged that Themistocles should show of what city he was envoy, before he gave his voice with the rest. He reproached him thus, because Athens had been taken, and was in the hands of the barbarians. Hereupon Themistocles spoke many bitter words against Adeimantus and the Corinthians; and reminded the commanders that with 200 ships, all fully manned for battle, he had both city and territory as good as theirs; since there was no Greek state which could resist his men's attack. After this he turned to Eurybiades, and addressed him with still greater warmth and earnestness: "If thou wilt stay here, and be brave, all is well; if not, thou wilt ruin Greece. For the whole fortune of the war depends on our ships. Be persuaded by my words. If not, we will take our families on board, and go, just as we are, to Siris in Italy, which is ours from of old, and which the prophecies declare we must some day colonise. Then, when you have lost allies like us, you will call to mind what I have said." At these words of Themistocles, Eurybiades changed his mind; principally, I believe, because he feared that, if he withdrew the fleet to the Isthmus, the Athenians would sail away, and knew that, without the Athenians, the rest of their ships could be no match for the enemy. He therefore decided to remain, and give battle at Salamis. Now, notwithstanding their skirmish of words, on learning the decision of Eurybiades, all at once made ready for the fight. Morning broke; and just as the sun rose, the shock of an earthquake was felt both on land and sea: whereupon the Greeks resolved to pray to the gods, and to invite the *Æacidæ* to their aid. This they did at once. Prayers were offered to all the gods; and Telamon and Aias (Ajax) were invited at once from Salamis, while a ship was sent to *Ægina* to fetch *Æacus* himself and the other *Æacidæ*. The following is a tale which was told by *Dicæus*, an Athenian, who was at this time an exile, and had gained much repute among the Medes. After the army of *Xerxes* had, in the absence of the Athenians, wasted Attica, he happened to be with *Dēmarātus* the Lacedæmonian in the Thriasian plain, and while there saw a cloud of dust

advancing from Eleusis, such as a host of 30,000 men might raise. As he and his companion were wondering who the men from whom the dust arose could be, a sound of voices reached his ear, and he thought that he recognised the mystic hymn to Dionysus. Now Demaratus was unacquainted with the rites of Eleusis, and inquired of Dicæus what the voices were saying. Dicæus made answer: "O Demaratus! beyond a doubt some mighty calamity is about to befall the king's army. For as Attica is deserted by its inhabitants, undoubtedly what we have heard is an unearthly sound, and is now upon its way from Eleusis to aid the Athenians and their allies. If it descends upon the Peloponnese, danger will threaten the king himself and his land army; if it moves towards the ships at Salamis, it will go hard but the king's fleet there suffers destruction. Every year the Athenians celebrate this feast to the Mother and the Daughter;<sup>1</sup> and all who wish, be they Athenians or other Greeks, are initiated. The sound thou hearest is the Bacchic song which is sung at that festival." "Hush," rejoined the other; "see thou tell no man this. For, if thy words be brought to the king's ear, thou wilt assuredly lose thy head; neither I nor any man living can save thee. Hold thy peace. The gods will see to the king's army." Thus Demaratus advised him; then they looked, and saw the dust from which the sound arose become a cloud, and the cloud rise into the air and sail away to Salamis, making for the station of the Greeks. Then they knew that it was the fleet of Xerxes which would suffer destruction.

After the men of Xerxes' fleet had seen the Spartan dead at Thermopylæ, and crossed the channel from Trachis to Histiaæ, they waited there for three days, and then sailing down through the Eurîpus, in three more came to Phalêrum. In my judgment, the Persian forces both by land and sea, when they invaded Attica, were not less numerous than they had been on their arrival at Sêpias and Thermopylæ. For against the Persian loss in the storm—and at Thermopylæ, and again in the sea-fights off Artemisium, I set the various nations which had since joined the king—as the Malians, the Dorians, the Locrians, and the Bœotians—each serving in full force in his army except the last;

<sup>1</sup> Demeter and Persêphônê.

there were no Thespians or Plataeans : together with these, the Carystians, the Andrians, the Tēnians, and the other people of the islands, all fought on this side except the five states already mentioned.<sup>1</sup> For as the Persians penetrated further into Greece, they were joined continually by fresh states. With contingents from all these but Paros, the barbarians reached Athens. As for the Parians, they loitered at Cythnos, waiting to see how the war would go. The rest came safe to Phalerum, where they were visited by Xerxes, who desired to go aboard and learn the wishes of the fleet. So he came and sat in a seat of honour; and the tyrants, and the captains of the ships, were sent for, to appear before him, and as they arrived took their seats according to the rank assigned them by the king. In the first seat sat the king of Sidon; after him, the king of Tyre; then the rest in their order. When all had taken their places, one after another, in orderly array, Xerxes, to try them, sent Mardōnius and questioned each, whether a sea-fight should be risked or no. Mardonius went the round of the assemblage, beginning with the Sidonian king, and asked this question; all gave the same answer, advising to engage the Greeks, except only Artemisia, who spoke as follows :—

“Say to the king, Mardonius, that these are my words : I was not the least brave of those who fought at Eubœa, nor were my achievements there among the meanest; therefore it is my right, my lord, to tell thee plainly what I think most for thy advantage now. This then is my advice. Spare thy ships, and do not risk a battle; for these people are as much superior to thine in seamanship, as men to women. What need is there so great for thee to risk thy power at sea? Art thou not master of Athens, for which thou didst undertake thy expedition? Art thou not master, too, of Greece? No man now resists thee. They who once resisted were handled as they deserved. Now learn how thy foes will fare. If thou art not over-hasty to engage by sea, but wilt keep thy fleet near the land, then, whether thou dost wait or dost march on towards the Peloponnese, thou wilt easily accomplish all that thou art come to do. The Greeks cannot hold out against thee long; thou wilt soon part them asunder, and scatter

them to their homes. In the island where they lie, I hear they have no food in store; nor is it likely, if thy land force begins its march towards the Peloponnese, that they will remain quietly where they are—at least, such as come from that region. They will not greatly trouble to give battle on behalf of Athens. On the other hand, if thou art hasty to fight, I tremble lest the defeat of thy sea force bring harm to thy land army too. This, also, thou shouldst remember, sire: good masters have bad slaves; bad masters good. Now, as thou art the best of men, thy slaves must be a sorry set. These Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians, who are counted in the number of thy subject-allies, how little are they worth!”

As Artemisia spoke,<sup>1</sup> those who wished her well were greatly troubled at her words, thinking that she would suffer hurt at the king's hands, because she urged him not to risk a battle; those who disliked and envied her, favoured as she was by the king above all the allies, rejoiced at her declaration, expecting that her life would be the forfeit. But when the words of the several speakers were reported to Xerxes, he was pleased beyond all others with Artemisia's reply; and whereas, even before, he had always esteemed her much, he now praised her more than ever. Nevertheless he gave orders that the advice of the greater number should be followed; for he thought that at Eubœa the fleet had not done its best, because he was not there himself to see—whereas this time he had resolved to be an eye-witness of the combat.

Orders were given to stand out to sea; and the ships sailed towards Salamis, and took up the stations to which they were directed, without hindrance. The day, however, was too far gone for them to begin the battle, since night already approached: so they prepared to engage when morning came. The Greeks, meanwhile, were in great distress and alarm, more especially those of the Peloponnese; they were troubled that they had been kept at Salamis to fight for Athenian territory, and feared that, if defeated, they would be pent up and besieged in an island, while their own country was left unprotected. The same night the

<sup>1</sup> The desire of Herodotus to do honour to Artemisia, the queen of his native city, has been already noticed, p. 74. Here he has ascribed to her a boldness of speech on which it is difficult to believe that she would have ventured.

land army of the barbarians began its march towards the Peloponnese, where, however, all that was possible had been done to prevent the enemy from forcing an entrance by land. As soon as news reached the Peloponnese of the death of Leonidas and his companions at Thermopylæ, the inhabitants flocked together from the cities, and encamped at the Isthmus, under the command of Cleombrotus,<sup>1</sup> brother of Leonidas. Here their first act was to block up the Scirōnian Way;<sup>2</sup> after which it was determined to build a wall across the Isthmus.<sup>3</sup> As the number assembled amounted to many tens of thousands, and every man set busily to work, it was soon finished. Stones, bricks, timber, and baskets full of sand were used in the building; not a moment was lost by those who gave their aid; they worked incessantly night and day.

Thus the Greeks at the Isthmus toiled their hardest, as though in the greatest peril; for they never imagined any brilliant success for the fleet. On the other hand, when the Greeks at Salamis heard this news they were greatly alarmed; but their fear was not so much for themselves as for the Peloponnese. At first they conversed in low tones, each man with his neighbour, and marvelled at the folly of Eurybiades; but soon the smothered feeling broke out, and another assembly was held; here the old subjects were discussed at length by the speakers: one side maintained that it was best to sail to the Peloponnese and risk battle for that, instead of waiting at Salamis and fighting for a land already won by a conqueror's spear; while the others, the Athenians, the Æginetans, and Megarians, were urgent to remain and fight where they were. When Themistocles saw that the Peloponnesians would carry the vote against him, he went out secretly from the council, and sent a man on board a boat to the fleet of the Medes with

<sup>1</sup> Cleombrotus was not king, but regent for Pleistarchus, the infant son of Leonidas. He died before the spring of the next year. See p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> The Scironian Way led from Mēgara to Corinth, along the eastern shore of the Isthmus. At a short distance from Megara it passed along the Scironian rocks, a long range of precipices overhanging the sea, forming the extremity of a spur which

descends from Mount Gērāneium. There is but one other route by which the Isthmus can be traversed. It runs inland, and passes over a higher portion of Mount Geraneium, presenting to the traveller equal or greater difficulties.

<sup>3</sup> The Isthmus is about four miles across at its narrowest point, and nearly five where the wall was built.



instructions what to say. His name was Sicinnus;<sup>1</sup> he was one of Themistocles' household slaves, and tutor to his sons; in after times, when the Thespians admitted new citizens, Themistocles made him a Thespian, and a rich man too. The boat brought Sicinnus to the Persian fleet, and there he delivered his message to the generals:—

“The Athenian commander has sent me to you secretly without the knowledge of the other Greeks. He wishes the king's cause well, and would rather success should attend on you than on his countrymen; therefore he bids me tell you that the Greeks are filled with fear, and are meditating flight. It is in your power now to do the best work that ever ye did, if only ye will hinder their escape. They no longer agree, and so they will not now resist—nay, it is likely ye may see a fight already begun between such as favour and such as oppose your cause.” When the messenger had thus expressed himself, he departed and was seen no more.

Then the captains believed all that the messenger had said, and proceeded to land a large body of Persian troops on the little island of Psyttaleia,<sup>2</sup> which lies between Salamis and the mainland; after which, about midnight, they advanced their western wing towards Salamis, so as to enclose the Greeks. At the same time the force stationed about Ceos and Cynösūra moved forward, and filled the whole strait as far as Munychia with their ships. This advance was made to prevent the Greeks from escaping by flight, and to block them up in Salamis, where it was thought that vengeance might be exacted for the battles fought near Artemisium. The Persian troops were landed on Psyttaleia, because, as soon as the battle began, the men and wrecks were likely to be drifted there, as the island lay in the very path of the coming fight,—and they would thus be able to save their own men and destroy those of the enemy. All these movements were made in silence, that the Greeks

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (*Them.* 12) says that Sicinnus was a Persian captive. Æschylus distinctly declares him to have been a Greek (*Pers.* 361). Grote, to reconcile the statements, suggests that he may have been “an Asiatic Greek.” The fact of the stratagem is witnessed by Thucydides (i. 137) as well as Æschylus.

<sup>2</sup> Psyttaleia is the small island now called *Lipsokutali*, which lies between the Piræus and the eastern extremity of Salamis. It is “low, and unprovided even with such narrow creeks as afforded safety to the small vessels of the ancients” (Leake). See plan, p. 149.

might know nothing of them; they occupied the whole night, and the men had no time to sleep.

I cannot say that there is no truth in prophecies, or feel inclined to call in question those which speak with clearness, when I think of this:—

“When they shall bridge with their ships to the sacred strand of the goddess

Girt with the golden falchion, and eke to marine Cynosura,<sup>1</sup>  
 Mad hope swelling their hearts at the downfall of beautiful Athens—  
 Then shall godlike Right extinguish haughty Presumption,  
 Insult's furious offspring, who thinketh to overthrow all things.  
 Brass with brass shall mingle, and Ares with blood shall empurple  
 Ocean's waves. Then—then shall the day of Hellas' freedom  
 Come from Victory fair, and Cronos' son all-seeing.”

When I look to this, and perceive how clearly Bacis spoke, I neither venture myself to say anything against prophecies, nor do I approve when others attack them.

#### (vii.) BATTLE OF SALAMIS, B.C. 480.

Meanwhile, among the generals at Salamis, the strife of words grew fierce. As yet they did not know that they were encircled, but imagined that the barbarians remained in the same places where they had seen them the day before. In the midst of their contention, Aristīdēs, the son of Lysimāchus, who had crossed from Ægina, arrived in Salamis. He was an Athenian, and had been ostracised by the people<sup>2</sup>; yet I believe, from what I have heard of his character, that there was not in all Athens a man so worthy or so just as he. He now came to the council, and standing outside, called for Themistocles. Now Themistocles was no friend of his, but his most determined enemy. However, under the pressure of the great dangers impending, Aristides forgot their feud, and called Themistocles out, as he wished to confer with him. He had heard before his arrival of the impatience of the Peloponnesians to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus. As soon therefore as he came out, Aristides addressed him thus:—

“Our rivalry at all times, and especially at present,

<sup>1</sup> Cynosura, according to chius, was a common name for a peninsula. It could, however, from its signification (dog's tail), only be applied to such as were particularly

long and thin.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 483: while Xerxes was in Thessaly, all exiles for a term of years were recalled on the proposal of Themistocles,

ought to be a struggle which of us shall do most good to our country. Let me then say this: as regards the departure of the Peloponnesians from this place, it will be all the same, whether we talk much or little. I have seen myself what I now report: however much the Corinthians or Eurybiades himself may wish it, they cannot now retreat; we are enclosed on every side by the enemy. Go in to them, and make this known."

"Thy advice is excellent," answered the other; "and thy news is good. I earnestly desired what thou hast seen done: nay, it is my own doing; for it was necessary, as our men would not fight here of their own will, to make them fight whether they would or not. But now, as thou hast brought the good news, go in thyself and tell it. For if I speak to them, they will think it an invented tale, and will not believe that the barbarians have enclosed us around. Go to them therefore, and inform them of the truth. If they believe thee, it will be for the best; but if not, it will do no harm. For it is impossible for them to escape by flight, if we are indeed shut in on all sides, as thou sayest."

Then Aristides entered the assembly, and spoke: he had come, he told them, from Ægina, and had but barely escaped the blockading vessels—the Greek fleet was entirely enclosed by the ships of Xerxes—and he advised them to get themselves ready to resist. Then he withdrew. And now another prolonged debate arose; for most of the generals would not believe. While they still doubted, a ship of Tēnōs commanded by Panætius deserted from the Persians and joined the Greeks, and thus they learnt the truth. For this reason the Tenians were inscribed upon the tripod at Delphi<sup>1</sup> among those who overthrew the barbarians. With this ship, which deserted to their side at Salamis, and the Lemnian vessel which came over before at Artemisium, the Greek fleet was brought to the full number of 380 ships; before, it fell short by two.<sup>2</sup>

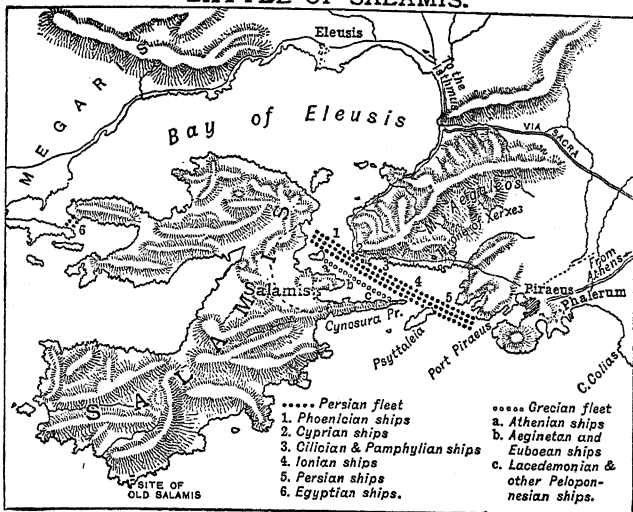
<sup>1</sup> The tripod here mentioned was dedicated from the tithe of the spoil taken at Platæa, and, like the colossal statue of Zeus, presented to Olympia on the same occasion, had inscribed upon it the names, not only of the Greeks who fought in that battle, but of all who lent any effective aid

to the Greek side during the war; the stand of the tripod, after the golden bowl had been removed by the Phocians, was taken to Constantinople, and there placed in the Hippodrome. It has been uncovered to its base, and the inscription deciphered.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 136.

The Greeks could no longer doubt what the Tenians told them, and made ready for the fight. At dawn, all the men-at-arms were assembled and speeches made: Themistocles spoke the best; he throughout contrasted the noble with the base, and bade them, in all that came within the range of man's nature and constitution, always to choose the nobler part. When he had thus wound up his discourse, he told them to go at once on board their ships; they did so, and the trireme that had been sent to Ægina for the Æacidæ returned, whereupon the Greeks put to sea with

## BATTLE OF SALAMIS.



Walker &amp; Boutall sc.

all their fleet. They had scarcely left the land when they were attacked by the barbarians. Most of the Greeks began to back water at once, and were almost on shore, when Ameinias of Pallênē, one of the Athenian captains, darted out in front of the line, and charged a ship. The two vessels became entangled, and could not separate, on which the rest of the fleet came up to help Ameinias, and engaged the Persians. Such is the account which the Athênians give of the way in which the battle began; the Æginetans maintain that the vessel which had been

to Ægina for the Æacidæ brought on the fight. It is also reported, that a phantom woman appeared to the Greeks, and, in a voice that was heard throughout the fleet, cheered them to the fight; first, however, rebuking them, and saying, "Good men, how long are ye backing water?"

Opposite the Athenians, who held the western extremity of the line towards Eleusis, were placed the Phœnicians; opposite the Lacedæmonians, whose station was eastward towards the Piræus, the Ionians. Of these last a few only followed the advice of Themistocles, and were reluctant to fight; the greater number were not. I could mention here the names of many trierarchs who took vessels from the Greeks, but I shall pass over all except Theomestor and Phylacus, both Samians. I show this preference to them, because for this service Theomestor was made tyrant of Samos by the Persians, while Phylacus was enrolled among the king's benefactors, and presented with a large estate in land. The greater number of the Persian ships engaged were disabled—either by the Athenians or by the Æginetans. For as the Greeks fought in order and kept their line, while the barbarians were in confusion and had no plan in anything they did, the result of the battle could scarcely be other than it was. Yet the Persians fought far more bravely here than at Eubœa, and indeed surpassed themselves; each did his utmost through fear of Xerxes; each thought that the king's eye was on him. What part the several nations, Greek or barbarian, took in the combat, I cannot say for certain; Artemisia, however, I know, stood even higher than before in the king's regard. For after confusion had spread through the king's fleet, and her ship was closely pursued by an Athenian trireme, she had no way to fly, since in front of her were a number of friendly vessels, and she was nearest of all the Persians to the enemy; she therefore resolved on a scheme which, in fact, proved her safety. Pressed by the Athenian pursuer, she bore straight against one of the ships of her own side, which had Damāsithymus, the king of Calynda,<sup>1</sup> on board. I cannot say whether she had had any quarrel with the king, while the fleet was at the Hellespont, nor can I decide whether of set purpose she attacked his vessel, or whether it merely happened that the Calyndian ship came

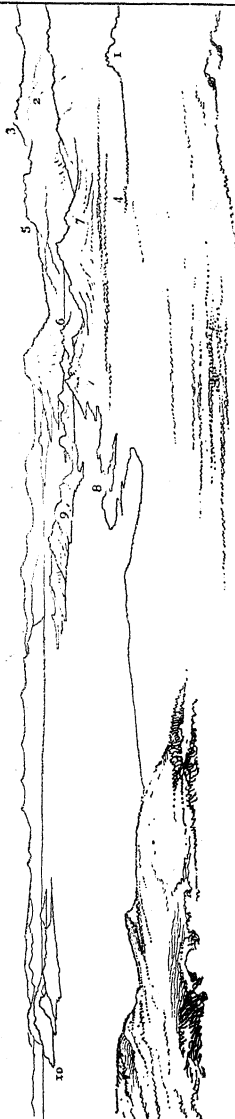
<sup>1</sup> A town in Caria.

in her way—certain it is, that she bore down upon his vessel and sank it, and had the good fortune to gain a twofold advantage in this. When the commander of the Athenian trireme saw her bear down on one of the enemy's fleet, he thought that her vessel was a Greek, or else had deserted from the Persians, and was now fighting for the Greeks; he therefore gave up the chase, and turned away to attack others. Thus Artemisia saved her life by the action, and was enabled to get clear off from the battle; while in the very act of doing the king an injury she raised herself to a greater height than ever in his esteem. For as Xerxes beheld the fight, he remarked, it is said, the destruction of the vessel, on which one of the bystanders observed to him, "Seest thou, master, how well Artemisia fights, and how she has just sunk a ship of the enemy?" Then Xerxes asked if it were really Artemisia's doing: and they answered, "Certainly, we know her ensign"; while all made sure that the vessel she had sunk belonged to the opposite side. Everything, it is said, conspired to help the queen—it was especially fortunate for her that not one of those on board the Calyndian ship survived to become her accuser. Xerxes, in reply, observed, "My men have turned women, and my women men!"

There fell in this combat Ariabignes, one of the chief commanders of the fleet, the son of Darius and brother of Xerxes; and with him a large number of men of high repute, Persians, Medes, and allies. Of the Greeks there died only a few; for, as they were able to swim, all those that were not slain outright by the enemy escaped from the sinking vessels and swam across to Salamis. But of the barbarians more perished by drowning than in any other way, since they did not know how to swim. The great destruction took place when the ships which had been first engaged took to flight; for those stationed in the rear were anxious to display their valour before the king's eyes, and made every effort to force their way to the front; thus they became entangled with such of their own vessels as were retreating. In this confusion certain Phœnicians, belonging to the ships which had thus perished, appeared before the king, and laid the blame of their loss on the Ionians, declaring that they were traitors, and had wilfully destroyed the vessels. But the result of this complaint was, that the Ionian commanders escaped the death which threatened them, while

their Phœnician accusers received death as their reward. For exactly as they spoke, a Samothracian vessel bore down on an Athenian and sank it, but was attacked and crippled immediately by one of the Æginetan squadron. Now the Samothracians were expert with the javelin, and aimed their weapons so well that they cleared the deck of the vessel which had disabled their own, and then sprang on board, and took it. This saved the Ionians. When Xerxes saw the exploit, he turned fiercely on the Phœnicians—he was ready, in his extreme vexation, to find fault with any one—and ordered their heads to be cut off, to prevent them, he said, from casting the blame of their own misconduct upon braver men. During the whole time of the battle Xerxes sat at the base of the hill Ægālēōs, opposite Salamis : and whenever he saw any of his own captains perform any worthy exploit he inquired about him ; the man's name was taken down by his scribes, together with the names of his father and his city. Ariaramnēs too, a Persian, who was a friend of the Ionians, and present at the time, had a share in bringing about the punishment of the Phœnicians.

When the rout of the barbarians began, and they sought to make their escape to Phalerum, the Æginetans, awaiting them in the channel, performed exploits worthy of record. Through the whole of the confused struggle the Athenians destroyed such ships as made resistance or fled to shore, while the Æginetans dealt with those which endeavoured to escape down the strait : so that the Persian vessels were no sooner clear of the Athenians than they fell forthwith into the hands of the Æginetan squadron. It chanced here that there was a meeting between the ship of Themistocles, which was in pursuit of the enemy, and that of Pōlycritus, the Æginetan, which had just charged a Sidonian trireme. He no sooner saw the Athenian trireme than, knowing at once whose vessel it was, as he observed that it bore the admiral's ensign, he shouted to Themistocles jeeringly, and asked him, in a tone of reproach, if the Æginetans did not show themselves rare friends to the Medes. At the same time, while he thus reproached Themistocles, Polycritus bore straight down on the Sidonian. Such of the barbarian vessels as escaped from the battle fled to Phalerum, and there sheltered themselves under the protection of the land army. The Greeks who gained



10. Aegina

9. Salamis

8. Piræus

7. Argaléus

5. Cithæron

3. Iléion

6. Corydallos

2. Icarus

ATHENS

4. Acropolis

1. Lyabettus

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF COUNTRY FROM ÆGINA TO ATHENS.

Walker & Bonnell sc.  
[To face p. 152.]





the greatest glory in the sea-fight of Salamis were the Æginetans, and after them the Athenians. The individuals of most distinction were Polycritus the Æginetan, and two Athenians—Eumēnēs of Anagyrus and Ameinias of Pallene, the latter of whom had pressed Artemisia so hard. Assuredly, if he had known that the vessel carried Artemisia on board, he would never have stopped the pursuit, till he had either succeeded in taking her, or else been taken himself. For the Athenian captains had received special orders about the queen; and moreover, a reward of ten thousand drachmas<sup>1</sup> had been offered to any one who should make her prisoner; since there was great indignation felt that a woman should appear in arms against Athens. However, as I said, she escaped, as did others whose ships survived the engagement; and these were now assembled at the port of Phalerum.

The Athenians say that Adeimantus, the Corinthian commander, at the moment when the two fleets joined battle, was seized with fear, and being excessively alarmed, spread his sails, and hastened to escape; on which the other Corinthians, seeing their admiral's ship in full flight, sailed off too. In their flight they had reached that part of the coast of Salamis where stands the temple of Athēnē Sciras, when they met a skiff, a supernatural apparition: it was never discovered that any one had sent it to them; and till it appeared, they were altogether ignorant how the battle was going. That there was something mysterious in the matter they judged from this—when the men in the skiff drew near their ships, they addressed them thus: "Adeimantus, while thou art playing the traitor, by withdrawing all these ships, and flying from the fight, the Greeks whom thou hast deserted are defeating their foes as completely as they ever wished in their prayers." Adeimantus, however, would not believe what the men said; whereupon they told him, "he might take them with him as hostages, and put them to death, if he did not find the Greeks winning." Then Adeimantus put about, and those who were with him; and rejoined the fleet when the victory was already gained. Such is the tale which the Athenians tell; the men at Corinth, however, do not allow its truth.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> £406 of our money. For an Attic drachma see p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that the tale was altogether false—one of those calumnies which, under feelings strongly excited, men circulate

On the contrary, they declare that they were among those who distinguished themselves most in the fight. And the rest of Greece agrees.

In the midst of the confusion Aristides, the Athenian, of whom I lately spoke as a man of the greatest excellence,<sup>1</sup> took a number of the Athenian hoplites, who had previously been stationed along the shore of Salamis, and landed with them on the isle of Psyttaleia, and slew all the Persians there.<sup>2</sup> As soon as the sea-fight was ended,<sup>3</sup> the Greeks drew together to Salamis all the wreckage there, and prepared for another engagement: they supposed that the king would renew the fight with the vessels still remaining. Many of the wrecks had been carried away by a westerly wind to the coast of Attica, and thrown upon the strip of shore called Cōlias.<sup>4</sup> Thus, not only were the prophecies of Bacis and Musæus concerning this battle fulfilled

against their enemies. From the year B.C. 433, when the Athenians took part with the Corcyreans against Corinth (Thucyd. i. 44-51), a deadly feud sprang up between them and the Corinthians. The Corinthian attack upon Potidæa (ib. 56-65) aggravated the breach. In this, Aristæus, *the son of Adeimantus*, took a prominent part. We can well understand how, under such circumstances, new calumnies were invented, or old ones raked up, blackening the character of the countrymen and the father of Aristæus.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Whatever the number of the Persian troops in Psyttaleia, their destruction appears to have been regarded as one of the chief calamities of the battle. Æschylus represents Xerxes as tearing his garments and shrieking aloud when he beheld the slaughter (*Pers.* 474). The slain, according to him, consisted of men of the first rank, the best and bravest of the native Persians (*Pers.* 447-449).

<sup>3</sup> The description of the battle of Salamis in Æschylus (*Pers.* 359-438), as the account of an eye-witness and combatant, must always hold a primary place among the records of the time. It does not appear to have been known to Herodotus, yet it

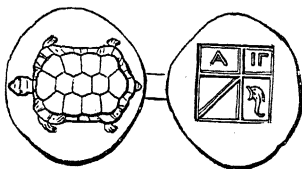
confirms his account in all the principal features; for instance, in the following:—1. The message sent to Xerxes, informing him that the Greeks were about to disperse. 2. His night-movement to enclose them. 3. The bold advance of the Greeks to meet their foes. 4. The commencement of the engagement by a charge on the part of a single Greek ship. 5. The crush and confusion among the Persians. 6. The arrangement of their fleet in more than a single line. 7. The great loss of Persians of high rank. 8. The prolonged resistance and final disorderly flight of the Persians. Æschylus goes into no detail with regard to names or nations, except that he gives a list of the grandees who fell upon the Persian side, which turns out on examination to be worthless. He adds little to the information which Herodotus supplies—only, I think, these facts:—1. That the Persian fleet was drawn up in *three* lines (l. 372). 2. That on both sides the fleets advanced with loud cries and shouts. 3. That the Greek *right wing* advanced first (l. 405). 4. That the Greeks executed against the Persians the manœuvre of the *περίπλους* (ll. 423, 424).

<sup>4</sup> A promontory little more than two miles from Phalerum.

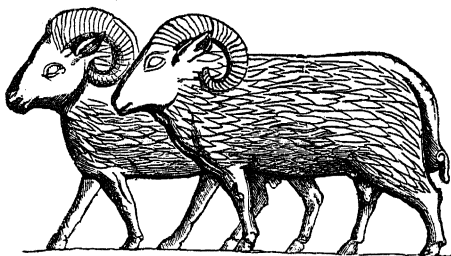
completely, but by the place to which the wrecks were drifted, the prediction of Lysisträtus, an Athenian soothsayer, was fully accomplished. It had been uttered many years before these events, and was quite forgotten at the time by all the Greeks. The words were—

“Then shall the sight of the oars fill Colian dames with amazement.”

Now this must have happened as soon as the king was departed.



COIN OF ÆGINA OF THIS DATE.



HORNED SHEEP (from Persepolis).

PERSIAN SOLDIERS (from Persepolis).

VI.

**Xerxes retreats to Susa: Mardonius remains with  
300,000 Men.**

WHEN Xerxes saw the extent of his loss, he began to be afraid that the Greeks might be advised by the Ionians, or on their own account might determine, to sail straight to the Hellespont and break down the bridges there; in this case he would be blocked up in Europe, and run great risk of destruction. He therefore made up his mind to escape; but as he wished to hide his purpose alike from Greeks and from Persians, he set to work to carry a mound across the channel to Salamis, and began fastening a number of Phœnician merchant ships together, to serve at once for a bridge and a wall. He made many warlike preparations, as if he were about to engage the Greeks once more at sea. Now, as all this was plain, it was fully understood that the king was bent on remaining, and intended to push the war in good earnest. Mardonius was in no way deceived; for experience enabled him to read the king's thoughts. Meanwhile, though thus engaged, Xerxes sent off a messenger to carry news of his misfortune to Persia. Nothing mortal travels so fast as these Persian messengers. The entire plan is a Persian invention: along the whole line of road there are men stationed with horses, in number the same as the days for the journey, a man and a horse to each day; no snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor darkness of night can hinder these men; they complete at their best speed the distance which they must go. The first rider delivers his despatch to the second, and the

second to the third; and so it is borne from hand to hand along the line, like the light in the torch-race, in honour of Hephæstus.

At Susa, on the arrival of the first message, which said that Xerxes was master of Athens, such was the delight of the Persians who had remained behind, that they strewed all the streets with myrtle boughs, and burnt incense, and gave themselves to feasting and merriment. When the second message reached them, so great was their dismay, that all with one accord rent their clothes, and cried aloud, and wept and wailed unrestrainedly. They laid the blame of the disaster on Mardonius; their grief was less on account of the damage done to their ships, than of the alarm which they felt for the safety of the king. Hence their trouble did not cease till the arrival of Xerxes himself put an end to their fears.

When Mardonius saw that Xerxes took the defeat of his fleet to heart, and suspected that he had made up his mind to leave Athens and escape, he began to think of the likelihood of his being punished for having persuaded the king to undertake the war. He therefore thought that it would be best for him to venture on further risks, and either become the conqueror of Greece—which was the result he expected—or else die gloriously after aspiring to noble deeds. With these thoughts in his mind, he said to the king one day:—

“Grieve not, master, nor take thy loss to heart. Our hopes hang not on the fate of timber, but on brave men and horses. These men, who imagine that they have quite conquered us, will not venture—no, not one of them—to come ashore and contend with thine army; nor will the Greeks upon the mainland fight our troops; such as did so have received their reward. If it so please thee, let us at once attack the Peloponnese; if thou wouldst rather wait a while, that too is in our power. Only be not disheartened. For it is impossible that the Greeks can avoid being brought to account, alike for this and for their former injuries; nor can they escape being thy slaves. Thou shouldst therefore do as I have said. If, however, thou art resolved to retreat and lead away thy army, listen to the advice which, in that case, I have to offer. Make not the Persians, sire, a laughing-stock to the Greeks. If thy affairs have succeeded ill, it is not by their fault; thou canst not say that thy Persians have

shown themselves cowards. What matters it if Phœnicians and Egyptians, Cyprians and Cilicians, have misbehaved?—their misconduct touches us not. Since, then, thy Persians are blameless, be advised by me. Depart home, if thou wilt, and take with thee the bulk of thy army; but first let me choose out 300,000 troops, and let it be my task to bring Greece beneath thy yoke.”

When Xerxes heard these words, he felt a sense of joy and delight, like a man relieved from care. Answering Mardonius, therefore, “that he would consider his advice, and let him know which course he might prefer,” Xerxes proceeded to consult with the chief men among the Persians; and because Artemisia on the former occasion had shown herself the only one who knew what was best to be done, he was pleased to summon her to advise him now. As soon as she arrived, he sent away all the rest, both councillors and body-guards, and said to her:—

“Mardonius wishes me to stay and attack the Peloponnese. My Persians, he says, and my other land forces are not to blame for the disasters which have befallen our arms; and of this they would gladly give me the proof. He therefore urges me, either to stay and act as I have said, or to let him choose 300,000 of my troops—with which he undertakes to reduce Greece to slavery to me—while I retire myself with the rest of my forces, and withdraw into my own country. As therefore thou didst before advise me wisely to avoid the sea-fight,<sup>1</sup> advise me once again in this matter, and say which course I ought to take for my own good.”

Artemisia, thus consulted, answered him:—

“It is a hard thing, sire, to give the best advice to one who asks our counsel. Nevertheless, as thy affairs now stand, it seems to me that thou wilt do right to return home. As for Mardonius, if he prefers to remain, and undertakes to do as he has said, leave him behind by all means, with the troops which he desires. If his design succeeds, and he subdues the Greeks, as he promises, thine is the conquest, master; for thy slaves will have accomplished it. If, on the other hand, affairs run counter to his wishes, we can suffer no great loss, as long as thou art safe, and thy house is in no danger. The Greeks, too, while thou livest, and thy house flourishes, must be pre-

pared to fight many a battle for their freedom ; whereas if Mardonius fall, it matters nothing ; they will have gained but a poor triumph—a victory over thy slave ! Remember also, thou goest home and hast gained the purpose of thy expedition ; for Athens is burnt.”

Artemisia's advice pleased Xerxes well ; for she had uttered his own thoughts. For my part, I do not believe that he would have remained, had all his counsellors, men and women, united to urge his stay, so great was his alarm. As it was, he gave praise to Artemisia, and entrusted certain of his children to her care, ordering her to take them to Ephesus ; for he had been accompanied on the expedition by some of his sons. Xerxes after this sent for Mardonius, and bade him choose from his army such men as he wished, and see that he made his deeds answer to his words. During this day he did no more ; but night was no sooner come, than he issued his orders, and at once the captains of the ships left Phalerum, and bore away for the Hellespont, each making all the speed he could, and hastening to guard the bridges to await the king's return. On their way, as they sailed by Zōstēr, where narrow points of land project into the sea, they took the cliffs for vessels, and sailed off. After a time they discovered their mistake, and joined company once more and proceeded on their voyage.

Next day the Greeks saw the land force of the barbarians encamped in the same place, and thought that their ships must still be lying at Phalerum ; and, expecting another attack from that quarter, made preparations to defend themselves. Soon news came that all the ships were gone ; whereupon it was instantly resolved to sail in pursuit. They went as far as Andros ; but, seeing nothing of the Persian fleet, they stopped at that place, and held a council of war. Themistocles advised that the Greeks should follow on through the islands, still pressing the pursuit, and make all haste to the Hellespont, there to break down the bridges. Eurybiades, however, was opposed to this. “ If the Greeks should break down the bridges, it would be the worst thing that could happen for Greece. The Persian, supposing that his retreat was cut off, and he compelled to remain in Europe, would be sure never to give them peace. Inaction on his part would ruin him, and leave him no chance of ever getting back to Asia—nay, would cause his army to perish by famine ; whereas, if he bestirred him-



self and acted with vigour, probably enough the whole of Europe would become subject to him: gradually the various towns and tribes would either fall before his arms, or else agree to terms of submission; and in this way, his troops would find sufficient food, since each year the Greek harvest would be theirs. As it was, because the Persian had lost the sea-fight, he evidently intended to remain in Europe no longer. The Greeks should let him depart; and when he was gone from them into his own country, then would be the time to fight him for the possession of his land."

The other Peloponnesian captains declared themselves of the same mind. Thereupon, when Themistocles found the majority against him, and that they would not push on to the Hellespont, he changed round, and addressed the Athenians; they of all the allies were the most nettled at the enemy's escape, and eagerly desired, if the other Greeks would not stir, to sail on by themselves to the Hellespont and break the bridges:—

"I have often myself been present, and I have heard of many cases from others, where men who had been conquered by an enemy, have been driven to desperation, and have renewed the fight, and retrieved their former disasters. We have now found salvation for ourselves and Greece by the repulse of this cloud of men; let us be content and not press them too hard, in their flight. It is not our army that has done it. It is the work of gods and heroes, who were jealous that one man should be king of Europe and of Asia—a man like this, unholy and presumptuous—a man who esteems alike things sacred and things profane, who has cast down and burnt the very images of the gods; who even scourged the sea with rods and had fetters thrown into it. At present all is well with us—let us then remain in Greece, and look to ourselves and to our families. The barbarian is gone—we have driven him away—let each now repair to his own house, and diligently sow his land. In the spring we will take ship once more and sail to the Hellespont and to Ionia!"

All this Themistocles said in hopes of establishing a claim on the king; for he wanted a safe retreat should any mischance befall him at Athens—which indeed came to pass. At present, however, he dissembled; and the Athenians were persuaded by his words. For they were

ready now to do whatever he advised; since they had always thought him a wise man, and he had lately proved himself truly wise and of sound judgment. Accordingly, they came over to his views; and he lost no time in sending messengers on board a boat to the king; he chose men whom he could trust to keep his instructions secret, even though they should be put to every kind of torture. Among them was a house-slave Sicinnus, the same whom he had made use of previously.<sup>1</sup> When the men reached Attica, the others stayed with the boat; but Sicinnus went to the king, and spoke:—

“I am sent to thee by Themistocles, general of the Athenians, the wisest and bravest of the allies, to give thee this message: ‘Themistocles the Athenian, anxious to render thee a service, has restrained the Greeks, who were impatient to pursue thy ships, and to break up the bridges at the Hellespont. Now, therefore, return home at thy leisure.’” When the messengers had performed their errand, they sailed back to the fleet.

Now that the Greeks had resolved to proceed no further in pursuit of the barbarians, nor push forward to the Hellespont and destroy the passage, they laid siege to Andros, intending to take the town by storm. For Themistocles had required the Andrians to pay down a sum of money; and they had refused, being the first of all the islanders to do so. To his declaration, “that the money must needs be paid, as the Athenians had brought with them two mighty gods—Persuasion and Necessity,” they made reply: “Athens may well be a great and glorious city, since she is blest with such excellent gods; but we are wretchedly poor, stinted for land, and cursed with two unprofitable gods, who always dwell with us and will never quit our island—Poverty and Helplessness. These are the Andrians’ gods, and therefore we shall not pay. For the power of Athens cannot possibly be stronger than our inability.” This reply, coupled with refusal to pay the sum required, caused their city to be besieged by the Greeks. Meanwhile Themistocles, who never ceased his pursuit of gain, sent threatening messages to the other islanders with demands for different sums, employing the same messengers and the same words as he had used towards the Andrians. “If,” he said, “they did not send him the amount required, he would bring the Greek fleet upon them, and besiege them

<sup>1</sup> Page 146.

till he took their cities." By these means he collected large sums from the Carystians and the Parians; for when they heard that Andros was already besieged, and that Themistocles was the most honoured of all the generals, they sent the money through fear. Whether any of the other islanders did the same, I cannot say; but I think that some did, besides those I have mentioned. However, though the Carystians complied, they did not escape disaster; but Themistocles was softened by the Parians' gift, and therefore they received no visit from the army. In this way, during his stay at Andros, Themistocles obtained money from the islanders, without the knowledge of the other generals.

King Xerxes and his army waited but a few days after the sea-fight, and then withdrew into Boeotia by the road which they had followed on their advance. It was the wish of Mardonius to escort the king a part of the way; and as the time of year was no longer suitable for carrying on war, he thought it best to winter in Thessaly, and wait for the spring before he attempted the Peloponnese. After the army was come into Thessaly, Mardonius made choice of the troops that were to stay with him; and first he took the whole body called the "Immortals," except only their commander, Hydarnes, who refused to quit the king. Next he chose the Persians who wore breastplates, and the thousand picked horse; also the Medes, the Sacæ, the Bactrians, and the Indians, foot and horse alike. These nations he took entire: from the rest of the allies he selected a few, taking either such as were remarkable for their appearance, or else had performed, to his knowledge, some valiant deed. The Persians supplied him with the greatest number of troops; next to them were the Medes, who in number equalled the Persians, but in valour fell short. The whole army, reckoning the horsemen with the rest, amounted to 300,000 men.

At the time when Mardonius was selecting his troops, and Xerxes was still in Thessaly, the Lacedæmonians received a message from the Delphic oracle, bidding them demand satisfaction from Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and take whatever he chose to give them. So the Spartans sent a herald with all speed into Thessaly, who arrived while the entire Persian army was still there. This man was brought before the king and spoke thus:—

"King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians and the

Heraclidæ of Sparta require of thee the satisfaction due for bloodshed, because thou didst slay their king, who fell fighting for Greece."

Xerxes laughed, and for a long time did not speak a word. At last he pointed to Mardonius, who was standing by, and said, "Mardonius here shall give them the satisfaction they deserve." The herald accepted the answer, and went away.

After this, Xerxes left Mardonius in Thessaly, and marched away himself, at his best speed, towards the Hellespont. In five-and-forty days he reached the place of passage, where he arrived with scarce a fraction, so to speak, of his former army. All along their line of march, in every country where they chanced to be, his soldiers seized and devoured whatever corn they could find belonging to the inhabitants; while, if no corn was to be found, they gathered the grass that grew in the fields, and stripped the trees, cultivated or wild alike, of their bark and of their leaves, and so fed themselves. They left nothing anywhere, so hard were they pressed by hunger. Plague too and dysentery attacked the troops while still upon their march, and greatly thinned their ranks. Many died; others fell sick and were left behind in the different cities that lay upon the route, the inhabitants being strictly charged by Xerxes to tend and feed them. Of these some remained in Thessaly, others in Macedon, others again in Pæonia. Here Xerxes, on his march into Greece, had left the sacred chariot and horses of Zeus,<sup>1</sup> which upon his return he was unable to recover; for the Pæonians had given them to the Thracians, and, when Xerxes demanded them back, they said that the Thracian tribes who dwelt about the sources of the Strymon had stolen the mares as they pastured. By this time the Persians had journeyed through Thrace and reached the passage, and entered their ships hastily to cross to Abÿdos. The bridges were not found stretched across the strait, since a storm had broken and dispersed them. At Abydos the troops halted, and, as they found many more provisions here than they had yet had upon their march, they ate without restraint; from this cause, added to the change in their drinking water, great numbers perished who had hitherto escaped. The remainder, with Xerxes himself, came safe to Sardis.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 64.



COIN OF ACRAGAS (Agrigentum).

## VII.

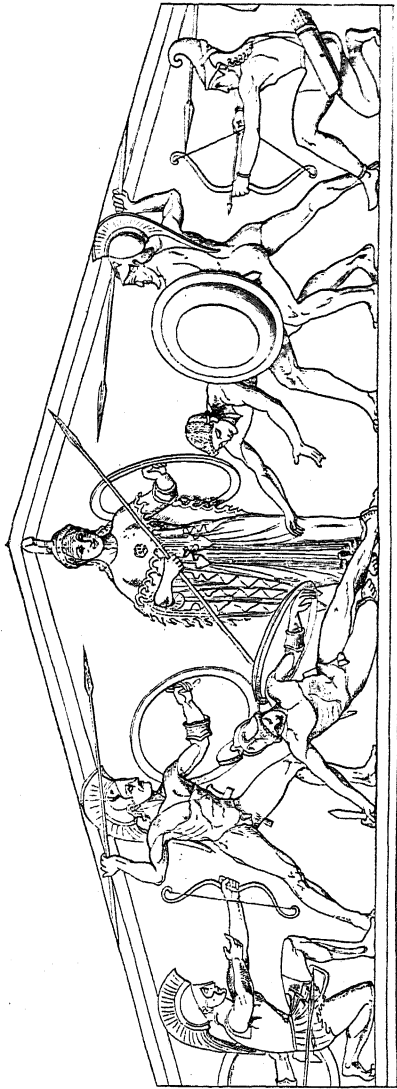
### Mardonius' Campaign in Greece and the Battle of Plataea, B.C. 479.

THE Greeks, unable to capture Andros, sailed away to Carystus, and laid the lands of the Carystians waste, and then returned to Salamis. Here they proceeded at once to make choice of the best of the spoil as offerings to the gods. Among these were three Phœnician triremes, one of which was dedicated at the Isthmus, where it continued to my day ; another at Sunium ; and the third at Salamis itself, which was devoted to Aias (Ajax). This done, they made a division of the booty, and sent the offerings away to Delphi. A statue<sup>1</sup> was made twelve cubits high, holding in its hand the beak of a ship ; it stands in the same place as the statue of Alexander the Macedonian. After the firstfruits had been sent to Delphi, the united Greeks made inquiry of the god, if he had received his full share of the spoil and was satisfied. The god made answer, that all the Greeks had paid his full due, except the Æginetans ; on them he had still a claim for the prize of valour gained at Salamis.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably the statue mentioned by Pausanias (x. xiv. § 3) as still remaining at Delphi in his day, which, he says, was erected by the Greeks to commemorate the battles of Artemisium and Salamis. It was a statue of Apollo, and stood, apparently, inside the temple.

<sup>2</sup> It is thought that the Æginetans

exhibited their gratitude for the victory of Salamis chiefly "upon their own soil." The temple from which the marbles now at Munich were taken was probably "erected in commemoration of the victory." Its ornaments exhibited "the triumph of the Hellenic over the Asiatic race." See the Illustration.



PART OF THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF AEGINA, NOW AT MUNICH.



When the Æginetans heard this, they dedicated the three golden stars which stand on the top of a bronze mast in the corner near Croesus' bowl.<sup>1</sup>

When the spoils had been divided, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, where a prize of valour was to be awarded to the man who of all the Greeks had shown the most merit during the war. When all the generals were come, they met at Poseidon's altar, where they were to give their votes for the first and for the second in merit. Then each man gave the first vote to himself, since each considered that he deserved it the most; but the second votes were given chiefly to Themistocles. In this way, while the others received but one vote apiece, Themistocles had a large majority for the second prize. Envy, however, hindered the Greeks from coming to a decision, and they all sailed away home without making any award. Nevertheless, Themistocles was regarded everywhere as by far the wisest of the Greeks; the whole country rang with his fame. As those who fought at Salamis had withheld his honour from him, though he was really entitled to the prize, he went without delay to Lacedæmon, in the hope that he would be honoured there. The Lacedæmonians received him handsomely, and paid him great respect. The prize of valour indeed, a crown of olive, they gave to Eurybiades; but Themistocles was given a crown of olive too, as the prize of wisdom and dexterity. He was presented also with the most beautiful chariot in Sparta; and after receiving abundant praises, was upon his departure escorted as far as the borders of Tēgēa by the 300 picked Spartans who are called the Knights. Never was it known, either before or since, that the Spartans escorted a man out of their city.

On the return of Themistocles to Athens, Tīmodēmus of Aphidnæ, who was one of his enemies, but otherwise a man of no repute, became so maddened with envy that he openly abused him. Reproaching Themistocles with his journey to Sparta, he said, "It was not his own merit that won him honour from Sparta, but the fame of Athens,

<sup>1</sup> The *silver* bowl of Croesus is intended, which stood "in the corner of the ante-chapel." All the more precious treasures of the Delphians

were lost before the date of Pausanias (about A.D. 160), having been converted into money at the time of the Sacred War (B.C. 357-347).



his country." When Timodemus repeated this phrase unceasingly Themistocles replied:—

"The truth is this, my friend. I had never gained this honour from the Spartans, had I been of Belbina,<sup>1</sup> nor thou, hadst thou been of Athens."

When the remains of Xerxes' fleet had made its escape from Salamis to the coast of Asia, and conveyed the king with his army across the strait from the Chersonese to Abydos, it passed the winter at Cymē. On the first approach of spring there was an early muster of the ships at Samos, where some of them indeed had remained throughout the winter. Most of the men who served on board were Persians, or else Medes; and the command of the fleet had been taken by Mardontēs and Artayntēs, while there was a third commander, Ithamitrēs, Artayntes' nephew, whom his uncle had appointed to the post. Further west than Samos, however, they did not venture to sail, for they remembered their great defeat, and that there was no one now to compel them to approach nearer to Greece. They therefore remained at Samos, and kept watch over Ionia, to hinder it from breaking into revolt. The whole number of their ships, including those sent by the Ionians, was 300. It did not enter into their thoughts that the Greeks would sail against Ionia; on the contrary, they supposed that the defence of their own country would content them, more especially as they had not pursued the Persian fleet when it fled from Salamis, but had so readily given up the chase. They despaired, however, altogether of gaining any success by sea themselves, though by land they thought Mardonius sure of victory. So they remained at Samos, and discussed all kinds of plans to harass the enemy; at the same time they waited eagerly to hear how matters would go with Mardonius.

The approach of spring, and the knowledge that Mardonius was in Thessaly, roused the Greeks from inaction. Their land force indeed was not yet come together; but the fleet of 110 ships proceeded to Ægina, under the command of King Leotychildēs. This Leotychides, who was both general and

<sup>1</sup> A small island, south of Sunium, the southernmost point of Attica.

Timodemus must have been a native of Belbina, who, on receiving

the Athenian citizenship, was enrolled in the deme of Aphidnæ.

Hence the point of the repartee.

admiral, belonged to the younger branch of the royal house. All his ancestors, except the two<sup>1</sup> next to himself, had been kings of Sparta. The Athenian vessels were commanded by Xanthippus. When the whole fleet was collected at Ægina, envoys from Ionia arrived at the Greek station; they had but just come from Sparta, where they had been entreating the Lacedæmonians to give freedom to their native land. One of these was Herodotus, the son of Bāsileides.<sup>2</sup> Originally they were seven in number; and the whole seven had conspired to slay Strattis, tyrant of Chios; one, however, of those engaged in the plot betrayed the enterprise; the conspiracy being in this way discovered, Herodotus and the remaining five quitted Chios, and went straight to Sparta, whence they had now proceeded to Ægina, their object being to request the Greeks to cross to Ionia. It was not without difficulty that they were induced to advance even so far as Delos. All beyond that seemed to the Greeks full of danger; the places were quite unknown to them, and to their fancy swarmed with Persian troops; as for Samos, it appeared to them as far off as the Pillars of Heracles.<sup>3</sup> Thus it came to pass that, at the very same time, the barbarians were hindered by their fears from venturing any further west than Samos, and the prayers of the Chians failed to induce the Greeks to advance any further east than Delos. Terror guarded the mid region.

Mardonius after this sent an envoy to Athens—Alexander, son of Amyntas, and king of Macedon, the seventh in descent from the first king Perdiccas. He selected him for two reasons. King Alexander was connected with the Persians by family ties; for Gygæa, the daughter of Amyntas and sister of Alexander, was married to Būbārēs, a Persian, and by him had a son, Amyntas of Asia; he was named after his mother's father, and enjoyed the revenues of Alabanda, a large city of Phrygia, which had been assigned him by the king. Alexander was also, as Mar-

<sup>1</sup> Apparently for "two" we ought to read "seven." Leotychides was only a distant cousin of Demaratus, his predecessor, he being eighth in descent from King Theopompus, while Demaratus was seventh (see p. ix).

<sup>2</sup> Probably a relation of the historian.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the grossest instance of

rhetorical exaggeration. The passage from Europe to Asia, through the islands, must have been thoroughly familiar to the Greeks of this period. Even the Spartans were accustomed to make it. The fact that for fifteen years the western waters of the Ægean had been little visited, could not produce the state of ignorance which Herodotus describes.

donius well knew, connected with Athens, both by services he had rendered, and by formal compact of friendship. Mardonius therefore thought that, by sending him, he would be most likely to gain the Athenians over to the Persian side. He had heard that they were a numerous and a warlike people, and he knew that the disasters which had befallen the Persians by sea were mainly their work; he therefore expected that, if he could form alliance with them, he would easily get the mastery of the sea (as indeed he would have done, beyond a doubt), while by land he believed that he was already greatly superior; so he expected by this alliance to make sure of overcoming the Greeks. Perhaps too the oracles leant this way, and advised him to make Athens his friend; and it may have been in obedience to them that he sent the embassy.

When Alexander reached Athens he spoke as follows:—

“Men of Athens, these are the words of Mardonius: ‘The king has sent a message to me, saying, “All the faults which the Athenians have committed against me I freely forgive. Now, Mardonius, thus shalt thou act towards them. Restore them their territory; let them choose for themselves whatever land they like besides, and let them dwell there a free people. Build up all their temples which I burned, if on these terms they will consent to enter into a league with me.” Such are the orders which I have received, and which I must needs obey, unless there be a hindrance on your part. And now I say to you,—why are ye so mad as to levy war against the king, whom ye cannot possibly overcome, or even resist for ever? Ye have seen the multitude and the bravery of the host of Xerxes: ye know also how large a power remains in your land with me; suppose then ye should get the better of us, and defeat this army—a thing of which ye will not, if ye be wise, entertain the slightest hope—a still greater force will be there. Do not, in your wish to match yourselves against the king, consent to lose your country and live in constant danger of your lives. Rather agree to peace; this ye can now do without tarnishing your honour, since the king invites you. Continue free, and make alliance with us, without fraud or deceit.’

“These are the words, Athenians! which Mardonius has bidden me speak. For my own part, I will say nothing of the affection I feel for you, for this is not the

first time you will have come to know it. But I will add my entreaties also, and beseech you to listen to Mardonius; for I see clearly that you cannot go on for ever fighting Xerxes, otherwise I should not now have come here to bear such a message. But the king's power surpasses man's, and his arm reaches far. If then ye do not hasten to conclude a peace, when such fair terms are offered I tremble to think of what you will have to endure—  
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Now when news reached the Lacedæmonians that Alexander was gone to Athens to bring about a league between the Athenians and the barbarians, and when they remembered the prophecies which declared that the Dorian race should one day be driven from the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians,<sup>1</sup> they were exceedingly afraid that the Athenians might ally with Persia. They therefore lost no time in sending envoys to Athens: and as it happened these envoys were given their audience at the same time as Alexander: for the Athenians had waited and made delays, because they felt sure that the Lacedæmonians would hear that an ambassador was come to them from the Persians, and as soon as they heard it would in all haste send envoys. They contrived matters therefore on purpose, that the Lacedæmonians might hear them say their say.

As soon as Alexander had finished speaking, the envoys from Sparta replied:—

“We are sent here by Sparta to entreat you not to do a new thing in Greece, nor agree to the terms now offered by the barbarian. Such conduct on the part of any Greeks were alike unjust and dishonourable; but in you it would be worse than in others, for many reasons. It was you that

<sup>1</sup> Grote remarks that these prophecies must have been recently coined, since “at no other point of time could the expulsion of all the Dorians from Peloponnesus, by united Persians and Athenians, have been even dreamt of.” Prophecies were easily forged.

first awoke this war among us—our wishes were in no way considered ; the struggle began by your seeking to extend your empire<sup>1</sup>—now the fate of Greece is involved. Besides, it were surely an intolerable thing that the Athenians, who have always been known as a people to whom many owed their freedom, should now become the means of bringing all other Greeks into slavery. We feel for the heavy calamities which press on you—the loss of your harvest these two years, and the ruin in which your homes have lain so long. We offer you, therefore, on the part of the Lacedæmonians and the allies, maintenance for your women and for the unwarlike portion of your households, as long as the war endures. Be not seduced by Alexander the Macedonian, who softens down the rough words of Mardonius. He does what is natural for him—a tyrant himself, he helps a tyrant's cause.<sup>2</sup> But ye, Athenians, should do differently, at least if ye be truly wise ; for ye should know that with barbarians there is neither honesty nor truth."

Thus spoke the envoys. Then the Athenians returned this answer to Alexander :—

"We know, as well as thou, that the power of the Mede is many times greater than our own ; we did not need to have that cast in our teeth. Nevertheless, we cling so to freedom that we shall offer what resistance we may. Do not try to persuade us into making terms with the barbarian—say what thou wilt, thou wilt never make us consent. Return at once, and tell Mardonius that our answer is this : 'As long as the sun keeps his present course, we will never ally with Xerxes. Nay, we shall oppose him unceasingly, trusting in the aid of those gods and heroes

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus here is guilty of an anachronism in throwing back to the time of the Ionian insurrection the notion of an Athenian hegemony. This would be carelessness, not ignorance, on his part ; for he was well aware at what time the Athenian empire really commenced. A similar incorrectness appears in the next sentence. It could not possibly have been said in the year B.C. 479, that "many men owed their freedom" to the Athenians. Up to this time they had never taken any part in liberating any nation. But Herodotus transfers to the time of

the Persian war what might have been said with some truth of the Athenians of his own day.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander was not a "tyrant" in any proper acceptation of the word. He had not acquired his power unconstitutionally, neither did he exercise it cruelly. He was a "king" as truly as Xerxes or Leonidas ; and so other Greek writers name the various monarchs of his house ; but the Lacedæmonians are made, with dramatic propriety, to use, in their eagerness to disparage, a term not strictly applicable.

whom he has lightly esteemed, whose houses and whose images he has burnt with fire.' Do not come again to us with words like these; nor try to persuade us to do unholy acts, while it is thy wish to help us. Thou art the guest and friend of our nation—we would wish thee unharmed by us."

To the Spartan envoys they said:—

"It was natural, no doubt, that the Lacedæmonians should be afraid we might make terms with the barbarian: nevertheless it was a base fear in men who knew so well our temper and our spirit. Not all the gold that the earth contains—not the fairest and most fertile of lands—would bribe us to take part with the Medes and to help them to enslave our country. Could we otherwise have consented to do so, there are many powerful motives which would now make it impossible. The first and chief of these is the burning and destruction of our temples and the images of our gods, which forces us to make no terms with their destroyer, but rather to pursue him with our resentment to the utmost. Again, there is our brotherhood with Greeks: the language we share, the altars and sacrifices of which we all partake, the civilisation which belongs to all alike—did the Athenians betray these, of a truth it would not be well. Know then now, if ye have not known before, that while one Athenian remains alive, we will never ally with Xerxes. We thank you for your forethought on our behalf, and for your wish to give our families support, now that ruin has fallen on us—your kindness is unfailing; but for ourselves, we will endure as we may, and not be burdensome to you. Such then is our resolve. Take care with all speed to send out your troops: for if our suspicions are right, the barbarian will not wait long before he invade our territory, but will advance as soon as he learns our answer, that we will do nothing of what he requires. Now is the time for us, before he enters Attica, to march to Boeotia ourselves, and give him battle."

When the Athenians had thus spoken, the envoys from Sparta returned to their home.

When Alexander made known to Mardonius the Athenians' answer, he forthwith broke up from Thessaly, and led his army with all speed against Athens; forcing those through whose land he passed to supply additional troops. The chief men of Thessaly, far from repenting the part

which they had hitherto taken in the war, urged the Persians to the attack more earnestly than ever. Thōrax of Larissa in particular, who had helped to escort Xerxes on his flight to Asia, now openly encouraged Mardonius in his march upon Greece. When the army reached Boeotia, the Thebans sought to induce Mardonius to halt: "He would not find anywhere a more convenient place in which to pitch his camp; they advised him to go no further, but fix himself there, and thence take measures to subdue all Greece without a blow. If the Greeks, who had held together hitherto, continued still united, it would be difficult for the whole world to overcome them by force of arms. But if thou wilt do as we advise," they went on to say, "thou mayest easily obtain the direction of all their counsels. Send presents to the men of most weight in the states, and thou wilt sow division among them. After that it will be an easy task, with the help of thy friends, to subdue thy foes." Such was the advice of the Thebans: but Mardonius did not follow it. A strong desire to take Athens once more possessed him, in part arising from his inborn stubbornness, in part from a wish to inform the king at Sardis, by fire-signals along the islands, that he was master of the place. However, on his arrival in Attica he did not find the Athenians in their country—they had again withdrawn, some to their ships, but the greater part to Salamis—and he took only a deserted town. It was ten months after the taking of the city by the king that Mardonius came against it for the second time.

Mardonius, now in Athens, sent an envoy to Salamis, one Murŷchīdēs, a Greek from the Hellespont, to offer the Athenians once more the same terms which had been proposed to them by Alexander. The reason for his sending a second time, though he knew beforehand their unfriendly feeling towards him, was that he hoped, when they saw the whole land of Attica conquered and in his power, their stubbornness would begin to give way. Now, when Murychides came before the council, and delivered his message, one of the councillors, named Lycīdas, gave it as his opinion "that the best course would be to admit the proposals brought by Murychides, and lay them before the assembly of the people." This he stated to be his opinion, perhaps because he had been bribed by Mardonius, or it may be because that course really appeared

to him the most expedient. However, the Athenians—both those in the council, and those who were outside, when they heard of the advice—were full of indignation, and at once surrounded Lycidas, and stoned him to death. Murychides they sent away unharmed. There was considerable commotion in the island about Lycidas, and the Athenian women learned what had happened. Then each talked to her neighbour and they brought one another to take part in the deed; they all flocked of their own accord to the house of Lycidas, and stoned to death his wife and children.

Now this was the reason why the Athenians sought refuge in Salamis. As long as they still hoped that a Peloponnesian army would come to give them aid, they waited still in Attica; but when it appeared that the allies were slack and slow to move, while the invader was reported to be pressing forward, and to have already entered Bœotia, they proceeded to remove their goods and chattels from the mainland, and again crossed the strait to Salamis. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, to reproach the Lacedæmonians for having allowed the barbarian to advance into Attica, instead of joining them and going to meet him in Bœotia. They were to remind them also of the offers by which the Persian had sought to win Athens to his side, and to warn them that, if no aid came from Sparta, the Athenians must find means to save themselves. The truth was, the Lacedæmonians were keeping holiday at that time; for it was the feast of the Hyacinthia,<sup>1</sup> and they thought nothing of so much importance as the service of the god. They were also engaged in building their wall across the Isthmus, on which battlements were now being placed.

When the Athenian envoys, accompanied by others from Mēgara and Platea,<sup>2</sup> reached Lacedæmon, they came before the Ephors, and spoke:—

“The Athenians have sent us to say, the king of the Medes offers to give us back our country, and wishes to conclude an alliance with us on fair and equal terms, without fraud or deceit. He is willing to bestow on us

<sup>1</sup> The feast of the Hyacinthia was held annually at Amŷclæ, on the longest day of the Spartan month Hēcatombeus, corresponding to our June and July.

<sup>2</sup> Megara and Platea, as extra-Peloponnesian states, were equally

interested with Athens in having the advance of Mardonius checked. Megara was especially concerned, for Platea had been plundered and burnt, whereas Megara had hitherto escaped ravage.



another country besides our own, and bids us choose any land we like. But because we revered Hellenic Zeus, and thought it a cowardly act to betray Greece, instead of assenting, we refused; although we have been wronged and deserted by the other Greeks, and are fully aware that it is more to our advantage to make peace with the Persian than to prolong the war. Still we shall not of our own will consent to terms of peace. Thus in all our dealings with the Greeks, we avoid what is base and counterfeit: while you, who but now were so full of fear that we should make terms with the enemy, have learnt our temper, and made sure that we shall not prove traitors to our country. You have brought, moreover, your wall across the Isthmus towards completion, and therefore you cease altogether to care for us. You agreed with us to go out and meet the Persian in Boeotia; when the time came, you were false to your word, and looked on while the barbarian host advanced into Attica. At this time, therefore, the Athenians are angry with you; and justly, for you have not done what was right. They bid you make haste to send your army out, that we may even yet meet Mardonius in Attica. Now that Boeotia is lost to us, the best place for the fight within our country will be the plain of Thria."

When the Ephors had heard this speech, they delayed their answer till the morrow; and when the morrow came, till to-morrow once again. This they did for ten days, putting off the ambassadors from one day to the next. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians were labouring with great zeal at the wall, and the work approached completion. I can give no other reason for the Lacedæmonians showing themselves so anxious, when Alexander came, that the Athenians should not join the Medes, and now being careless, except that at that time the wall across the Isthmus was not complete, and they worked at it in great fear of the Persians, whereas now the obstacle was there, and they imagined that they had no further need of Athens.

At last the envoys received their answer, and the troops marched out from Sparta, thus: the last audience had been fixed, when, the very day before it was to be given, a Tegean, named Chilëus, a man who had more influence at Sparta than any other foreigner, learned from the Ephors exactly what

the Athenians had said, and addressed these words to them: "Ephors, the facts are these. If the Athenians are not our friends, but league with the barbarians, however strong our wall across the Isthmus be, there will be doors enough, wide open too, by which the Persian may gain entrance to the Peloponnese. Grant their request, then, before they make any fresh resolve, which may bring Greece to ruin." Such was the advice of Chileus: and the Ephors took it into consideration, and determined at once, without a word to the envoys from the three cities, to despatch to the Isthmus 5,000 Spartans; accordingly they sent them the same night, appointing to each Spartan a retinue of seven helots, and giving the command to Pausanias, son of Cleombrötus. The power belonged of right at this time to Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas;<sup>1</sup> but as he was still a child, Pausanias, his cousin, was regent for him. For Pausanias' father, Cleombrotus,<sup>2</sup> son of Anaxandridas and brother of Leonidas, had died a short time after bringing back from the Isthmus the troops who had been building the wall. A strange event had caused him to bring his army home: while he was offering sacrifice to know if he should march against the Persians, the sun was darkened in the sky. Pausanias took with him Eurýanax, the son of Dōriēus, a member of his own family.

The army accordingly had marched out from Sparta with Pausanias; while the envoys, when day came, appeared before the Ephors, knowing nothing of the march of the troops, and intending to leave Sparta at once themselves, and return to their homes. They therefore addressed the Ephors: "Lacedæmonians, as you do not stir from home, but keep the Hyacinthian festival, and amuse yourselves, deserting the cause of your confederates, the Athenians, whom your behaviour wrongs, and who have no other allies, will make such terms with the Persians as they can. Now when terms are once made, and we are the king's allies, we shall march with the barbarians wherever they choose to lead. Then at length you will see the result." When the

<sup>1</sup> Pleistarchus could not have been more than seven or eight at this time. His mother Gorgo, who was only eight years old in B.C. 500 (see p. 9), is not likely to have married till she was twenty; for the Spartan law forbade early marriages. Pleistarchus

therefore could not well have been born before B.C. 487. Pausanias, though often called king, was never more than regent. He held the office until his death, which was probably in B.C. 467 (cf. p. ix).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 145.

envoys had spoken, the Ephors declared on oath: "Our troops must be at Orestæum<sup>1</sup> now, on their march against the strangers"—this word is a Spartan expression for "barbarians." At this the envoys, ignorant of what had happened, questioned them as to their meaning; and when, by much questioning, they had discovered the truth, they were greatly astonished, and set off, at their best speed, to overtake the Spartan army. At the same time a body of 5,000 Lacedæmonian Perioeci,<sup>2</sup> all picked men fully armed, set forth in haste from Sparta, in the company of the envoys.

Meanwhile the Argives had promised Mardonius to stop the Spartans from crossing their borders, and as soon as they learnt that Pausanias with his army had started from Sparta, they took the swiftest courier they could find, and sent him to Attica. The message which he delivered, on his arrival at Athens, was this: "Mardonius, the Argives have sent me to tell thee that the Lacedæmonian youth have gone forth from their city, and that the Argives are too weak to hinder them. Take good heed to thyself at this time." Without a word more he returned. When Mardonius learnt that the Spartans were on their march, he no longer cared to remain in Attica. Hitherto he had kept quiet, wishing to see what the Athenians would do, and had not ravaged their territory, or done it any harm; for he still hoped that the Athenians would come to terms. When, however, he found that his persuasions were useless, as their whole policy was clear, he determined to withdraw

<sup>1</sup> Oresteium was a small town in the district of Arcadia called Mænalia. It did not lie on the direct route from Sparta to the Isthmus, but a little to the left, on the road from Lycösūra to Tëgëa. The direct road to the Isthmus passed through Tegea. It is not easy to understand why the divergence was made on this occasion, unless it were to receive the contingent of the Lëprëatis.

<sup>2</sup> These were the free inhabitants of the country districts, the descendants in the main of the submitted Achæans, as distinguished from the helots, or serfs, and the Spartans, the only citizens. The entire force which Sparta furnished on this

occasion amounted, according to our author, to 50,000 men. Of these, 5,000 were actual Spartans, an unexampled number. As the entire body of adult citizens certainly did not exceed, and probably fell short of 8,000, the levy may be regarded as an instance of the proportion of two-thirds of the whole effective strength which we know to have been required of the subject-allies in some cases (Thucyd. ii. 10). To these were added 5,000 Lacedæmonians, each with a single attendant helot, and 35,000 helots in attendance upon the 5,000 Spartans. Sparta never made an effort at all comparable to this, either before or afterwards,

from Attica before Pausanias and his army reached the Isthmus ; first, however, he resolved to burn Athens, and to throw down and level with the ground whatever remained standing of the walls, temples, and other buildings. His reason for retreating was that Attica was not a country where horse could act with advantage ; besides, if he were defeated in a battle, there was no way of escape open to him, except through defiles, where a handful of troops might stop his army. So he determined to withdraw to Thebes, and give the Greeks battle in the neighbourhood of a friendly city, on ground well suited for cavalry. After he had quitted Attica, and was already upon his march, news reached him that a body of 1,000 Lacedæmonians, distinct from the army of Pausanias, and sent on in advance, had arrived in the Mēgārid.<sup>1</sup> When he heard it, Mardonius wished, if possible, to destroy this detachment first, and considered how best he might do so. With a sudden change of march he made for Megara, while the horse, pushing on in advance, entered and ravaged the Megarid. This was the furthest point in Europe to the west and the setting sun, to which this Persian army made its way.

After this, Mardonius received another message,—that the forces of the Greeks were collected at the Isthmus ; this made him draw back, and leave Attica by way of Dēcēlēia. The Bœotarchs<sup>2</sup> had sent for some of their neighbours, from the Asōpus ; these served as guides to the army, and led them to Tănāgra, where Mardonius rested a night ; the next day he turned his steps to Scōlus, in the territory of the Thebans. Although the Thebans had joined the Medes, Mardonius cut down all the trees in these parts ; not from any enmity towards Thebes, but on account of his own urgent needs ; he wanted a rampart to protect his army from attack, and he desired to have a place of refuge for his troops, should the battle go contrary to his wishes. His army at this time lay on the Asopus, and stretched from Erythræ to the territory of the Platæans. The wall was not made to extend so far, but formed a square of about ten furlongs.

While the barbarians were so employed, Attāgīnus, a Theban, gave a banquet at Thebes, and invited Mardonius with fifty of the noblest Persians ; and all the guests who

<sup>1</sup> The country of which Megara was the chief city.

<sup>2</sup> Officers of the Bœotian federation.

were invited came. What follows, I was told by Thersander of Orchōmēnus, a man of the first rank in that city. He was himself among those invited to the feast, and besides the Persians fifty Thebans were asked;<sup>1</sup> the two nations were not arranged separately, but a Persian and a Theban were set side by side on each couch. After the feast was ended, and the drinking had begun, the Persian who shared Thersander's couch addressed him in Greek, and asked from what city he came. He answered, that he came from Orchomenus; and then the other said:—

“Since thou hast eaten at the same table with me, and poured libation from the same cup, I would gladly leave with thee a record of my belief—especially that thou mayest have timely warning thyself, and be able to provide for thy safety. Seest thou these Persians feasting here, and the army which we left encamped yonder by the riverside? Yet a little while, and of all this number thou wilt see but few alive!”

As he spoke the Persian wept bitterly; and Thersander, astonished at his words, replied: “Surely thou shouldst say all this to Mardonius, and the Persians who are next him in honour”; but the other rejoined: “Friend, it is not possible for man to avert what God has decreed shall happen. No one believes warnings, however true. Many of us Persians know our danger, but are constrained by necessity to follow our leader. Verily it is the worst of human sorrows, to have knowledge in full and yet no power to act.” All this I heard myself from Thersander of Orchomenus; who told me further, that he mentioned what had happened to others, before the battle was fought at Plataea.

When Mardonius held his camp in Bœotia, all the Greeks of those parts who were friendly to the Medes sent troops to join his army, and these troops accompanied him in his attack upon Athens. The Phocians alone took no part in the invasion: for though they had espoused the Median cause warmly, it was against their will, and only because they were compelled. However, a few days after the arrival of the Persian army at Thebes, 1,000 of their heavy-armed soldiers came up, under the command of Harmōcŷdēs, one of their distinguished citizens. No sooner had these troops reached Thebes, than some

<sup>1</sup> By Thebans we must understand here Bœotians, since Thersander was one of the fifty.

horsemen came to them from Mardonius, with orders that they should take up a position upon the plain, away from the rest of the army. The Phocians did so, and the entire Persian cavalry at once drew near; in consequence a rumour spread through the whole of the Greek force encamped with the Medes, that Mardonius was about to shoot down the Phocians. The same conviction spread through the Phocian troops themselves; and Harmocydes, their commander, addressed them with words of encouragement: "Phocians, it is plain that these men have resolved to take our lives; they have done so, I suppose, because of the accusations of the Thessalians. Now is the time for each man to show his bravery. It is better to die fighting and defending our lives, than tamely to allow them to kill us like cowards. Let them learn that they are barbarians, and that the men whose death they have plotted are Greeks!"

Harmocydes had just spoken, when the Persian horse enclosed the Phocians, and charged, as if to cut them down, with bows bent and arrows ready to be let fly; nay, here and there some did discharge their weapons. But the Phocians stood firm, keeping together, and closing their ranks as much as possible: on this the horse suddenly wheeled round, and rode away. I cannot say with certainty whether they came, at the request of the Thessalians, to destroy the Phocians, but seeing them prepared to stand on their defence, and fearing to suffer damage at their hands, beat a retreat on that account, under orders from Mardonius; or whether his only purpose was to try the temper of the Phocians, and test their courage. However this may have been, when the horsemen retired Mardonius sent a herald to the Phocians, saying: "Fear not, Phocians; ye have shown yourselves valiant men, not at all like the report that I had heard. Now be active in the coming war. You will not readily outdo the king or myself in services."

When the Lacedæmonians reached the Isthmus, they pitched their camp there; and the other Peloponnesians who had favoured the good cause, hearing, or else seeing, that they were upon the march, thought it wrong to remain behind when the Spartans were going to the war. So the Peloponnesians went out in one body from the Isthmus, with the victims favourable, and marched to

Eleusis; here again they offered sacrifices, and, finding the omens still encouraging, advanced further. At Eleusis they were joined by the Athenians, who had come across from Salamis, and now accompanied the main army. On reaching Erythræ in Bœotia, they learnt that the barbarians were encamped upon the Asopus; therefore, after considering how to act, they disposed their own forces opposite the enemy upon the slopes of Mount Cithæron.

When Mardonius saw that the Greeks would not come down into the plain, he sent all his cavalry, under Masistius (or Makistius,<sup>1</sup> as the Greeks call him), to attack them where they were. Now Masistius was a man of much note among the Persians, and rode a Nisæan charger with a golden bit, which was in other ways magnificently caparisoned. So the cavalry advanced against the Greeks, and made attacks upon them in divisions, doing them great damage at each charge, and insulted them, calling them women. The Megarians, as it happened, were drawn up in the position most open to attack, where the ground offered the best approach to the cavalry. Finding themselves hard pressed by the assaults upon their ranks, they sent a herald to the Greek commanders, who came and said to them: "The message of the Megarians is this—'We cannot, friends, continue to resist the Persian horse in that post which we have occupied from the first, if we are left without succour. Hitherto, although hard pressed, we have held out firmly and courageously. Now, however, if you do not send others to take our place, we warn you that we shall quit our post.'" When Pausanias heard these words of the herald, he inquired among his troops if there were any who would volunteer to take the post, and relieve the Megarians. None of the rest were willing to go, but the Athenians offered themselves; and a body of picked men, 300 in number, commanded by Olympiodōrus, undertook the service. Selecting to accompany them the whole body of archers, these men relieved the Megarians, and occupied a post in front of all the Greeks at Erythræ. After the struggle had continued for a while, it ended thus. As the barbarians continued charging in divisions, the horse of Masistius, which was in front of the

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks modified his name (great). They intended to express to make it significative of his great height (Makistos = mekistos = very that he was the tallest of the Persians.

others, received an arrow in his flank, the pain of which caused him to rear and throw his rider. Immediately the Athenians rushed upon him as he lay, caught his horse, and when Masistius made resistance, slew him. At first, they could not do so; they were prevented by his armour. He wore a breastplate formed of golden scales,<sup>1</sup> with a scarlet tunic covering it. Thus the blows, all falling upon his breastplate, took no effect, till one of the soldiers saw the reason, drove his weapon into his eye, and slew him. All this took place without any of the other horsemen seeing it; they had neither observed their leader fall from his horse, nor seen him slain; for he fell as they wheeled round and prepared for another charge, and they were ignorant of what had happened. When, however, they halted, and found that there was no one to marshal their line, Masistius was missed; instantly his soldiers, understanding what must have befallen him, with loud cheers charged the enemy in one mass, hoping to recover the dead body. When the Athenians saw that, instead of coming up in divisions, the whole mass of the horse was about to charge at once, they called to the other troops to make haste to their aid. While the rest of the infantry was moving to their assistance, the fight grew fierce about the dead body of Masistius. The three hundred, as long as they fought by themselves, had greatly the worst of the encounter, and were forced to retire and yield the body to the enemy; but when the other troops approached, the Persian horse could no longer hold their ground, but fled without carrying off the body, with a further loss of several of their number. They therefore retired about two furlongs, and consulted with each other what was best to be done. As they had no commander now, it seemed to them wise to return to Mardonius. When the horse reached the camp, Mardonius and all the Persian army made lamentation for Masistius. They shaved the hair from their own heads, and cut the manes from their war-horses<sup>2</sup> and their beasts, while they uttered their grief in cries so loud that all Bœotia resounded with the clamour, because they had lost the man who next to Mardonius was held in the greatest esteem, both by the

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias tells us that the breastplate of Masistius was preserved to his day in the temple of Athênê

Pölyas at Athens, together with a scymitar said to be that of Mardonius.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 429.



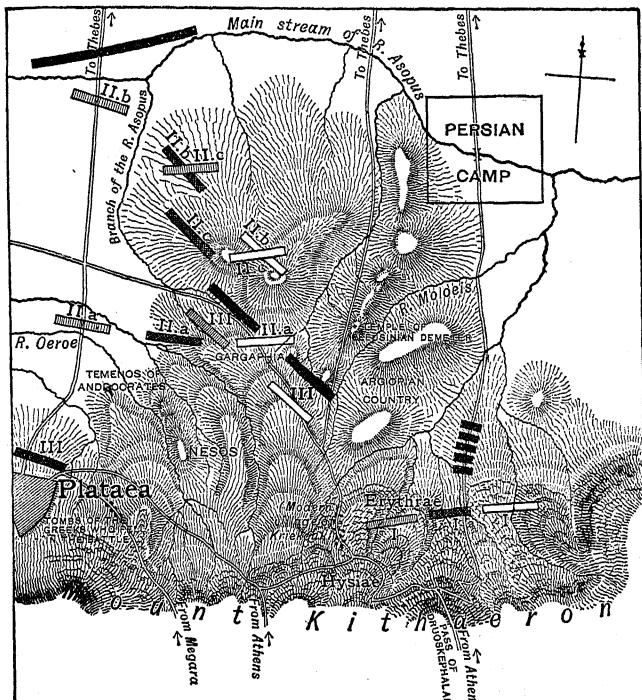
king and by the Persians generally. Thus the barbarians, after their own fashion, paid honours to the dead Masistius. The Greeks were greatly emboldened by what had happened, seeing that they had not only stood their ground against the attacks of the horse, but had compelled them to retreat. They therefore placed the dead body of Masistius on a cart and paraded it along the ranks. Now the body was a sight which well deserved to be gazed at, both for its stature and for its beauty; and it was to stop the soldiers from leaving their ranks to look at it, that they resolved to carry it round.

After this the Greeks determined to quit the high ground and go nearer Platæa, as the land there seemed far more suitable for an encampment than the country about Erythræ, particularly because it was better supplied with water. To this place, therefore, and more especially to a spring-head called Gargaphia, they considered that it would be best to remove, and then once more encamp in their order. So they took their arms, and marched along the slopes of Cithæron, past Hÿsia, to the territory of the Platæans; and here they drew themselves up, state by state, close by the fountain Gargaphia, and the sacred precinct of the hero Andrōcratēs, partly along some hillocks of no great height, and partly upon the level ground.<sup>1</sup>

Here, in the marshalling of the states, a fierce battle of words arose between the Athenians and the Tegeans, both of whom claimed to have one of the wings assigned to them. On each side were brought forward the deeds which they had done, whether in earlier or in later times; and first the Tegeans urged their claim:—

“This post has been always considered to belong to us by right, and not to any of the other allies, in all the joint expeditions of the Peloponnesians, both anciently and in later times. Ever since the Heraclidæ made their attempt, after the death of Eurysthēus, to return by force of arms into the Peloponnese, this custom has been observed. It was then that the right became ours, and in this way we gained it. When, in company with the Achæans and Ionians, who then dwelt in the Peloponnese, we marched out to the Isthmus, and pitched our camp to face the invaders, then, as the story is told, Hyllus made this

<sup>1</sup> The plan of the ground on the opposite page will throw light on the various changes of position.



## Battle of PLATAEA

Persians.....  
Greeks { Athenians.....  
          { Lacedaemonians.....  
          { Various Greek Allies...

I. First position of the Greeks.  
II.a II.b II.c Second position and develop-  
ments during the 10 days of waiting  
III. Position at moment of Battle.

after Grundy

Walker & Boutall sc.

English Miles

Stadia

1000 Yards

1000 Metres

proclamation : ‘ There is no need to endanger two armies in a battle ; let one man be chosen from the Peloponnesian ranks, whom they deem the bravest, and let him engage with me in single combat, on terms agreed upon.’ This pleased the Peloponnesians, and oaths were sworn : ‘ If Hyllus conquer the Peloponnesian champion, the Heraclidæ shall return to their inheritance ; if he be conquered, the Heraclidæ shall withdraw, lead back their army, and engage for the next hundred years to make no endeavours to force their return.’ Hereupon Echēmus, our commander and our king, offered himself, and was chosen before all as champion, engaged in single combat with Hyllus, and slew him upon the spot. For this exploit we were rewarded by the Peloponnesians of that day with many privileges, which we have ever since enjoyed ; among the rest, we obtained the right of holding the leading post in one wing, whenever a joint expedition goes beyond our borders. With you then, Lacedæmonians, we do not compete ; choose which wing you please ; we yield and grant you the preference : but we maintain that the command of the other wing belongs of right to us, now no less than formerly. Moreover set aside this exploit, and still our title to the chief post is better than that of the Athenians : witness the many glorious fights in which we have been engaged against yourselves, Spartans ! as well as those which we have maintained with others. We have therefore more right to this place than they ; for they have performed no exploits to be compared with ours, whether we look to earlier or to later times.”

Thus spoke the Tegeans ; and the Athenians made reply : “ We know that our forces were gathered here, not to make speeches, but to fight. Yet, as the Tegeans have been pleased to bring into debate the exploits of our two nations, alike in earlier and in later times, we have no choice but to set before you the grounds on which we claim it as our heritage, deserved by our unchanging bravery, to be preferred above Arcadians. In the first place those very Heraclidæ, whose leader they boast to have slain at the Isthmus, and whom the other Greeks would not receive, when they asked a refuge from the bondage threatened by the people of Mycēnæ, were sheltered by us ; and we brought down the insolence of Eurystheus, and helped to gain the victory over those

who were at that time lords of the Peloponnese. Again, when the Argives led their troops with Pölynicēs against Thebes, and were slain and refused burial, it is our boast that we went out against the Cadmeians, recovered the bodies, and buried them at Eleusis. Another noble deed of ours was that against the Amazons, when they came from the Thermōdon, and poured their hosts into Attica;<sup>1</sup> in the Trojan war, too, we were not behind any Greeks. But what need to speak of these ancient deeds? A nation brave in those days might have grown cowardly since, and a nation of cowards then might now be valiant. Enough of our ancient glories. Had we performed no other exploit than that at Marathon (B.C. 490)—though in truth we have performed exploits as many and as noble as any of the Greeks—yet had we performed no other, we should deserve this privilege, and many another too. There we stood alone,<sup>2</sup> and singly fought the Persians; nay, and venturing so much, we overcame the enemy, and conquered on that day six-and-forty nations! Does not this one achievement make good our title to this post? Nevertheless, Lacedæmonians, as to fight for place at such a time is wrong, we are ready to do as you command, and to take our station at whatever part of the line, and face whatever nation, you think most expedient. Wherever you place us, we will endeavour to prove our bravery. Only declare your will, and we shall at once obey you.”

Such was the Athenian reply; at once all the Lacedæmonian troops shouted loudly, that the Athenians better deserved to have the left wing than the Arcadians. In this way were the Tegeans overcome; and the post was assigned to the Athenians.

When this matter had been arranged, the Greek army, in part composed of those who came at the first, in part of such as had flocked in from day to day, drew up thus:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The mythic contest between the Greeks and the Amazons was said to have begun with Heracles, who invaded their country on the Thermōdon, being required by Eurystheus to bring him the baldrick of Hippölyta. According to some, Theseus took part in this expedition; but the generality of writers made his expedition distinct from that of Heracles. To revenge the attack

of Theseus, the Amazons invaded Attica, passing round the Black Sea, and crossing the Cimmerian Bosphorus upon the ice, according to Hellānicus. They continued in Attica four months, and fought battles with various success, but at last were defeated by Theseus.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 30, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The list of states which Pausanias found inscribed on the base of the

10,000 Lacedæmonian troops held the right wing, 5,000 of whom were Spartans; and these 5,000 were attended by 35,000 helots, who were only lightly armed—seven helots to each Spartan. The place next to themselves the Spartans allotted to the Tegeans, on account of their courage and their claims. They were all fully armed, and numbered 1,500 men. Next in order came the Corinthians, 5,000 strong; and with them Pausanias had placed, at their request, the band of 300 which had come from Potidæa in Pallênē. The Arcadians of Orchōmēnus, in number 600, came next; then the Sicyōnians, 3,000: then the Epidaurians, 800; the Trœzenians, 1,000; the Lēpræats, 200; the Mycenæans and Tirynthians, 400; the Phliasians, 1,000; the Hermionians, 300; the Eretrians and Styreans, 600; the Chalcidians, 400; and the Ambraciots, 500. After these came the Leucadians and Anactorians, who numbered 800; the Palæans of Cēphallēnia, 200; the Æginetans, 500; the Megarians, 3,000; and the Plataeans, 600. Last of all, but first at their extremity of the line, were the Athenians, who, to the number of 8,000, held the left wing, under the command of Aristidēs. All these, except the helots—seven of whom attended each Spartan—were heavy-armed; and they amounted to 38,700 men. This was the number of hoplites which was brought together against the barbarian. The light-armed troops consisted of the 35,000 ranged with the Spartans, seven in attendance

statue of Zeus, erected at Olympia by the Greeks after the close of the war, is not very materially different from this. There are indeed some variations, but they are of little importance, and admit of easy explanation. Pausanias omits the Eretrians, the Leucadians, and the Palæans of Cēphallēnē: he adds the Elæans, Ceans, Mēlians, Tēnians, Naxians, and Cythnians. The islanders contained in the list of Pausanias had their names inscribed on the statue, not as having sent contingents to Plataea, but as having taken part in the war by fighting at Salamis. Pausanias is mistaken when he speaks of the inscribed states as having all shared *in the battle*. He may be corrected from Herodotus (viii. 82) and Thucydides (i. 132), from which passages it appears that

having borne any part in *defeating the barbarian* gave a claim for inscription. The offerings dedicated from the spoils of Plataea were regarded, not as commemorative of that victory only, but of the whole war; and consequently all those who had shared in the victories, whether by land or by sea, had honourable mention upon those memorials. The only exception was in case of *very* trivial contingents. The single penteconters of the Siphnians and Seriphians, and even the single triremes of the Crotonians (p. 136) and Lemnians (p. 148), were perhaps not thought to entitle them to commemoration. If so, the Tenians would probably have been omitted but for the timeliness of their desertion of the Persians (p. 148).

upon each, all well equipped for war; and of 34,500 others, belonging to the Lacedæmonians and the rest of the Greeks, at the rate (nearly) of one light- to one heavy-armed.<sup>1</sup> Thus the entire number of the light-armed was 69,500. The Greek army, therefore, which mustered at Platæa, counting light-armed as well as heavy-armed, was but 1,800 men short of 110,000; and this amount was exactly made up by the Thespians present in the camp; for 1,800 Thespians, being the whole number left,<sup>2</sup> were also with the army; but these men were without arms.<sup>3</sup>

When the mourning for Masistius was at an end, and the barbarians under Mardonius learnt that the Greeks were in the Platæan territory, they too moved towards the river Asopus. On their arrival Mardonius marshalled them thus against the Greeks: against the Lacedæmonians he posted his Persians; and as the Persians were far more numerous, he drew them up with their ranks deeper than usual, and also extended their front so that part faced the Tegeans; and here he took care to choose the best troops to face the Lacedæmonians, whilst against the Tegeans he arrayed the less trustworthy. This was done at the suggestion of the Thebans. Next to the Persians he placed the Medes, facing the Corinthians, Potidæans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians; then the Bactrians, facing the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Lepreats, Tirynthians, Mycenæans, and Phliasians; after them the Indians, facing the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styreans, and Chalcidians; then the Sacæ, facing the Ambraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetans; last of all, facing the Athenians, the Platæans, and the Megarians, he placed the troops of the Bœotians, Locrians, Malians, and Thessalians, and also the thousand Phocians. The

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of this calculation are unusually accurate, the sum total of the hoplites being perfectly correct. There is, however, an excess of 800 light-armed, which seems to have arisen from a miscalculation. If we subtract the 5,000 Spartans from the 38,700 hoplites, the remainder is 33,700, not 34,500.

<sup>2</sup> After the destruction of the 700 at Thermopylæ. See pp. 109-117.

<sup>3</sup> It seems not improbable that in their hurried flight from Thespiæ on

the advance of Xerxes (p. 137) the Thespians may not have liked to encumber themselves with the weight of arms. And the other Greeks had none to lend them, as each state sent its full force to the war. The Thespians were inscribed on the Delphic tripod, though, according to Pausanias, their name did not appear at Olympia. This does not prove, however, that they fought at Platæa. It may have been owing to their conduct at Thermopylæ.

whole of the Phocians had not joined the Medes; on the contrary, there were some who had gathered themselves into bands about Parnassus, and made expeditions from thence, whereby they distressed Mardonius and the Greeks who sided with him, and did good service to the Greek cause. Mardonius also arrayed against the Athenians the Macedonians and the tribes dwelling about Thessaly. The number of the barbarians, as I have already mentioned, was 300,000; that of the Greeks who had made alliance with Mardonius is known to none; for they were never counted: I should guess that they mustered near 50,000 strong. The troops thus marshalled were all foot-soldiers. As for the horse, it was drawn up by itself.

When the marshalling of Mardonius' troops was ended, the two armies proceeded on the next day to offer sacrifice. The Greek sacrifice was offered by Tisāmēnus, the soothsayer: he was an Elean, but had been admitted among their own citizens by the Lacedæmonians. He and his brother were the only men whom the Spartans ever admitted to citizenship.<sup>1</sup> Tisamenus now found the victims favourable, if the Greeks stood on the defensive, but not if they began the battle or crossed the river Asopus. With Mardonius also, who was very eager to begin the battle, the victims were not favourable for so doing; but he found they promised well whilst he stood on his defence. He too had made use of the Greek rites; for Hēgēsistrātus, an Elean, was his soothsayer. He had been hired at no inconsiderable price; and offered sacrifice with a right good will, in part from his hatred of the Lacedæmonians, in part for money's sake. So when the victims did not allow either the Persians or their Greek allies to begin the battle—these Greeks had their own soothsayer, Hippōmāchus, a Leucadian—and when soldiers continued to pour into the opposite camp, and the numbers on the Greek side to increase continually, Timagēnidas, a Theban, advised Mardonius to keep a watch on the passes of Cithæron, telling him how supplies of men kept flocking in day by day,

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus must be supposed to mean the only *foreigners*; otherwise his statement will be very incorrect. Helots, it is well known, were often admitted to citizenship, becoming thereby Neōdāmōdēis, or new citizens (Thucyd. vii. 58). Even with

this limitation it may be doubted whether admissions to citizenship were really so rare. Herodotus himself declares that the Mīnyæ were received as citizens; and Tyr-tæus is said by Plutarch to have enjoyed the same privilege.

and assuring him that he might cut off large numbers. This advice was given eight days after the two armies first encamped opposite one another. Mardonius, seeing it was good advice, sent his cavalry, as soon as evening came, to that pass of Mount Cithæron which opens out upon Plataea, a pass called by the Boeotians the "Three Heads," but called the "Oak Heads" (*Dryoscēphalæ*) by the Athenians. Nor did he send in vain. They came upon a body of 500 beasts just entering the plain, bringing provisions to the Greek camp from the Peloponnese, with a number of men driving them. Seeing this prey in their power, the Persians set upon them and slaughtered them, sparing none, neither man nor beast; till at last, when they had had enough of slaying, they secured such as were left, and bore them off to the camp to Mardonius.

After this they waited again for two days more, neither army wishing to begin the fight. The barbarians, indeed, advanced as far as the Asopus, and tried to tempt the Greeks to cross; but neither side passed the stream. Still the cavalry of Mardonius harassed and annoyed the Greeks incessantly; for the Thebans, who were zealous for the Medes, pressed the war forward with all eagerness, and often led the charge till the lines met, while the Medes and Persians took their place, and displayed, many of them, great valour. For ten days nothing more than this was done; but on the eleventh day from the time when the two hosts first faced each other, near Plataea—the number of the Greeks was now much greater than it was at first, and Mardonius was impatient of delay—there was a conference held between Mardonius and Artabazus, a man esteemed by Xerxes more than almost any Persian. At this consultation Artabazus thought it would be best for them to break up from their quarters as soon as possible, and withdraw the whole army to the fortified town of Thebes, where they had abundant stores of corn for themselves and of fodder for the beasts. There they had only to sit quiet, and the war might be brought to an end. Coined gold was plentiful in the camp, and uncoined too; they had silver, moreover, in great abundance, and drinking-cups. Let them take of these unsparingly, and distribute them among the Greeks, especially among the chief men in the cities; it would not be long before the Greeks gave up their liberty,



without risking another battle. Thus the opinion of Artabazus agreed with that of the Thebans; for he, too, had more foresight than some. Mardonius, on the other hand, expressed himself with more fierceness and obstinacy, and was utterly disinclined to yield. "Their army was vastly superior to that of the Greeks; and they had best engage at once, and not wait till greater numbers were gathered against them. As for Hegesistratus and his victims, they should let them pass unheeded, not seeking to force them to be favourable, but, according to the old Persian custom, hastening to join battle." When Mardonius had thus said his say, no one ventured to oppose him; accordingly his scheme prevailed, for it was to him, and not to Artabazus, that the king had given the command.

Mardonius now sent for the captains of the squadrons, and the generals of the Greeks in his service, and questioned them: "Did they know of any prophecy which said that the Persians were to be destroyed in Greece?" All were silent; some because they did not know the prophecies, but others, who knew them well, because they did not think it safe to speak. So Mardonius, when none answered, said: "Since ye know of no such oracle, or do not dare to speak of it, I, who know it well, will tell it you myself. There is an oracle which says that the Persians shall come to Greece, sack the temple of Delphi, and when they have so done, perish one and all. Now, as we are aware of the prediction, we will neither go against the temple nor make any attempt to sack it: we therefore shall not perish. Rejoice then thus far, all ye who are well-wishers to the Persians, and doubt not we shall get the better of the Greeks." When he had so spoken, he further ordered them to prepare and to put all in readiness for a battle upon the morrow.

As for the oracle of which Mardonius spoke, and which he referred to the Persians, it did not, I am well assured, mean them, but the Illyrians and the Enchēlēan host. There are, however, some verses of Bacis which spoke of this battle:—

"By Thermodon's stream, and the grass-clad banks of Asopus,  
See where gather the Greeks, and hark to the foreigners' war-shout.  
There in death shall lie, ere fate or Lachēsis doomed him,  
Many a bow-bearing Mede, when the day of calamity cometh."

These verses, and some others like them which Musæus wrote, referred, I well know, to the Persians.

After Mardonius had put his question about the prophecies, and spoken these words of encouragement, night drew on apace, and on both sides the watches were set. As soon as there was silence throughout the camp—the night was now well advanced, and the men seemed to be in their deepest sleep—Alexander, son of Amyntas, king and general of the Macedonians, rode up on horseback to the Athenian outposts, and desired to speak with the generals. Hereupon, while the greater part continued on guard, some of the watch ran to the generals and told them, “There had come a horseman from the Median camp, who would not say a word, except that he wished to speak with the generals, and mentioned them by name.”

On hearing this, they hastened to the outpost, where they found Alexander, who addressed them thus :—

“Athenians, what I am going to say I trust to your honour ; I charge you keep it secret from all but Pausanias, if you would not bring me to destruction. Had I not greatly at heart the welfare of Greece, I should not have come to tell you : but I am a Greek by descent myself, and I would not willingly see Greece exchange freedom for slavery. Know then that Mardonius and his army cannot obtain favourable omens ; had it not been for this, they would have fought you long ago. They have determined now to let the victims pass unheeded, and as soon as day dawns, to engage in battle. Mardonius, I imagine, is afraid that, if he delays, your numbers will increase. Make ready, then, to receive him. Should he, however, still postpone the combat, remain where you are : for his provisions will not last many days. If ye succeed in this war, forget not to work for my freedom ; consider the risk I have run, out of zeal for the cause of Greece, to acquaint you with what Mardonius intends, and to save you from being surprised by the barbarians. I am Alexander of Macedon.”

As soon as he had said this, Alexander rode back to the camp, and returned to the station assigned him. Meanwhile the Athenian generals hastened to the right wing, and told Pausanias all that they had learnt from Alexander. Hereupon Pausanias was much alarmed, and addressed the generals in these words :—

"Since the battle is to begin at dawn to-morrow, it were well that you Athenians should stand opposed to the Persians, and we Spartans to the Bœotians and the other Greeks; for ye know the Medes and their style of fight, since ye have already fought with them at Marathon, but we are quite ignorant and without any experience of their warfare. While there is not a Spartan here who has fought against a Mede, of the Bœotians and Thessalians we have had experience. Take then your arms, and march over to our post upon the right, while we supply your place upon the left."

To this the Athenians replied: "Long ago, when we saw that the Persians were drawn up to face you, we wished to suggest to you the same plan which you have been the first to propose. We feared, however, that perhaps our words might not please you. But, as you have now spoken of these things yourselves, we gladly give our consent, and are ready to do as you have said."

As both sides agreed, at dawn the Spartans and Athenians changed places. But the movement was seen by the Bœotians, who reported it to Mardonius; on hearing what had been done, he at once made a change in the disposition of his forces, and brought the Persians to face the Lacedæmonians. Then finding that his design was discovered, Pausanias led back his Spartans to the right wing; and Mardonius, seeing this, replaced his Persians on the left. When the troops again occupied their former posts, Mardonius sent a herald to the Spartans, who spoke as follows:—

"Lacedæmonians, in these parts men say that you are the bravest of mankind, and admire you, because you never turn your backs in flight nor quit your ranks, but always stand firm, and either die at your posts or kill your foes. But in all this there is not one word of truth; for we have now seen you, before battle was joined or our two hosts had come to blows, flying and leaving your posts; you wished the Athenians to make the first trial of our arms, and take your own station against our slaves. These surely are not the deeds of brave men. Much do we find ourselves deceived in you; for we believed the report that reached our ears, and expected that you would send a herald with a challenge, proposing to fight by yourselves against our division of native Persians. We were

ready to have agreed to this; but ye have made us no such offer—nay! ye seem rather to shrink from meeting us. However, as no challenge comes from you to us, lo! we send you a challenge. Why should not you on the part of the Greeks, as you are thought to be the bravest, and we on the part of the barbarians, fight a battle with equal numbers on both sides? Then, if the others think well to fight, let them engage afterwards; but if not, if they are content that we should fight on behalf of all, let us do so; and whichever side wins the battle, let them win it for their whole army.”

When the herald had spoken, he waited a while, but, as no one made answer, he went back, and told Mardonius what had happened. Mardonius was full of joy at this, and so elated by his phantom victory, that he gave orders to his horse to charge the Greeks. Then the horsemen drew near, and with their javelins and their arrows—for though horsemen they used the bow—did great damage to the Greek troops, who could not bring them to close combat. The fountain of Gargaphia, whence the whole Greek army drew its water, they choked and spoiled. The Lacedæmonians were the only troops who had their station near this fountain; the other Greeks were more or less distant from it, according to their place in the line; they were not far, however, from the Asopus. Still, as the Persian horse with their missiles did not allow them to approach, and they could not get their water from the river, these Greeks, no less than the Lacedæmonians, resorted at this time to the fountain. When the fountain was choked, the Greek commanders, now that the army had no longer a watering-place, and the cavalry greatly harassed them, held a meeting on these and other matters at the headquarters of Pausanias. For besides these difficulties, which were great enough, other circumstances added to their distress. All the provisions they had brought with them were gone; and the attendants, who had been sent to fetch supplies from the Peloponnese, were prevented from returning to camp by the Persian horse, which had now closed the passage. The captains, therefore, held a council, and it was agreed that, if the Persians did not give battle that day, the Greeks should move to the Island—a tract of ground which lies in front of Plataea, ten furlongs from the Asopus and

Gargaphia, where the army was encamped. This tract was a sort of island on the mainland: for there is a river which, dividing near its source, runs down from Mount Cithæron into the plain below in two streams, flowing in channels about three furlongs apart, which after a while unite.<sup>1</sup> The name of this river is Oërōē, and the dwellers in those parts call it Asopus' daughter. This was the place to which the Greeks resolved to move; they chose it, because they would find abundance of water there, and because the horse could not harass them, as when drawn up in their front. They thought it best to begin their march at the second watch of the night, lest the Persians should see them as they left their station, and should follow and harass them with cavalry. It was agreed that, after they had reached the place, which Oeroe surrounds, as it flows down from Cithæron, they should despatch the same night half their army towards that mountain-range, to relieve those whom they had sent to procure provisions, who were now blocked up.

With these resolves, they continued that whole day to suffer terribly from the attacks of the enemy's horse. At length, towards dusk, the attacks of the horse ceased; when night had closed in and the hour arrived for the army to commence its retreat, the greater number struck their tents and began the march. They did not try, however, to make for the appointed place; but in their anxiety to escape from the Persian horse, they had no sooner begun to move than they fled straight to Plataea, where they took up a position at the temple of Hēra, which lies outside the city, about twenty furlongs from Gargaphia; and here they pitched their camp in front of the building. As soon as Pausanias saw these troops in motion, he issued orders to the Lacedæmonians to strike their tents and follow those who had been the first to go, supposing that they were on their march to the

<sup>1</sup> There is no "island," properly so called, in front of Plataea. There is, however, in the position and at about the distance indicated, a tract of ground nearly, though not quite, surrounded by water, which seems to be the place that bore the name. Two small streams descend from the flanks of Cithæron, which at first

are not more than 300 yards apart, but gradually increase the distance to more than half a mile, after which they again approach each other, and unite to form the small river which flows into the Corinthian Gulf at *Livadhōstra*. (See the Plan, p. 183.) This river is, beyond a doubt, the ancient Oërōē.

appointed place. All but one of the captains were ready to obey his orders: Amomphărētus, who was leader of the Pitānate company,<sup>1</sup> refused to move—"He for one would not fly from the strangers, or of his own will bring disgrace upon Sparta." It had happened that he was absent from the former conference; so what was now taking place astonished him. Pausanias and Eurŷānax thought it a monstrous thing that Amompharetus would not listen; but considered that it would be yet more monstrous, if, when he had made up his mind, they were to leave the Pitānates to their fate; for if they abandoned them to keep their agreement with the other Greeks, Amompharetus and his men might be destroyed. On this account they kept the Lacedæmonian force in its place, and used every endeavour to persuade Amompharetus that he was wrong to act as he was doing.

The Spartans were thus engaged in these efforts to turn Amompharetus—the only man unwilling to retreat either in their own army or in that of the Tegeans. Meanwhile the Athenians, who knew that it was part of the Spartan character to say one thing and do another, remained quiet until the army began to retreat; then they despatched a horseman to see whether the Spartans really meant to march, or whether after all they had no intention of moving. He was also to ask Pausanias what he wished the Athenians to do. On his arrival the herald found the Lacedæmonians drawn up in their old position, and their leading men quarrelling with one another. Pausanias and Euryanax had been urging Amompharetus not to endanger the lives of his men by staying behind while the others drew off, but without success; until at last the dispute had grown hot between them just when the Athenian herald came. At this point Amompharetus, who was still disputing, took up a large stone with both his hands, and placed it at the feet of Pausanias, saying, "With this pebble I vote not to run from the strangers."<sup>2</sup> Pausanias called him a

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides declares the belief in a "Pitānate company" to have been a vulgar error among the Greeks generally. He absolutely denies the existence, at any time, of such a body (i. 20). It is possible that no portion of the Spartan army may have borne this name, but as Pitāna was a suburb of Sparta possessing

a certain distinctness in itself, it is likely to have furnished to the army a battalion of its own, which Herodotus, who had been at Pitāna, would intend to mark out for honour. He might call this "the Pitānate company" without meaning that it actually bore the title.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 176.

fool and a madman, and turned to the Athenian herald, who had made the enquiries with which he was charged, and bade him tell his countrymen how he was occupied, and ask them to come nearer, and retreat or not according to the movements of the Spartans. So the herald went back to the Athenians; and the Spartans continued to dispute till dawn. Then Pausanias, who as yet had not moved, gave the signal for retreat, expecting, and as the event proved, rightly, that when Amompharetus saw the rest of the Lacedæmonians in motion, he would be unwilling to be left behind. No sooner was the signal given, than all the army except the Pitanates began their march, and retreated along the line of the hills; the Tegeans accompanying them. The Athenians too set off in good order, but by a different way from the Lacedæmonians. For while the latter clung to the hilly ground and the skirts of Mount Cithæron, because afraid of the enemy's horse, the former betook themselves to the low country and marched through the plain. Amompharetus at first did not believe that Pausanias would dare to leave him behind; he therefore remained firm in his resolve to keep his men at their post; when, however, Pausanias and his troops were now some way off, Amompharetus thought himself forsaken in good earnest, and ordered his men to take their arms, and led them at a walk towards the main army. Now the army was waiting for them about ten furlongs off, and had halted upon the river Mōlōeis<sup>1</sup> at a place called Argiōpius, where there is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter. They had stopped here, that if Amompharetus and his men should refuse to quit the spot where they were drawn up, and should not stir, they might be able to move back and lend them assistance. Amompharetus, however, and his companions rejoined the main bodies; and at the same time the whole mass of the barbarian cavalry arrived and began to press them hard. The horsemen had followed their usual practice and ridden up to the Greek camp, when they discovered that the place where the Greeks had been posted hitherto was deserted. • Upon this they pushed forward, and, as soon as they overtook the enemy, pressed heavily on them.

When Mardonius heard that the Greeks had retired

<sup>1</sup> The Moloeis must be one of the small streams which join to form the Oeroe, but it is not possible to determine which of them.

under cover of the night, and saw the place empty, he summoned Thōrax of Larissa, and his brothers, Eurȳpȳlus and Thrāsīdeius, and said :—

“Sons of Aleuas! what will ye say now, when ye see the place empty? Why, you who dwell in their neighbourhood told me the Lacedæmonians never fled from battle, but were brave beyond the rest of mankind. Lately you saw them change their place in the line yourselves; and here, as all may see, they have run away during the night. Verily, when their turn came to fight with those who are in very truth the bravest warriors in the world, they showed plainly enough that they are worthless men of no account, who have distinguished themselves among Greeks—men themselves of nought. However, I can readily excuse you; you knew nothing of the Persians, and praised these men from your acquaintance with them; but I marvel the more at Artabazus, that he should have been afraid of the Lacedæmonians, and have given us therefore advice so dastardly,—bidding us break up our camp, and remove to Thebes, and allow ourselves to be besieged there by the Greeks,—advice of which I shall take care to inform the king. But of this hereafter. Now we must not allow them to escape us, but must pursue till we overtake them; then we must exact vengeance for all the wrongs which have been suffered at their hands by the Persians.”

Then he crossed the Asopus, and led the Persians at a run directly on the track of the Greeks, whom he believed to be in flight. He could not see the Athenians; for, as they had taken the way of the plain, they were hidden from his sight by the hills; he therefore led his troops against the Lacedæmonians and the Tegeans only. When the commanders of the other divisions of the barbarians saw the Persians pursuing the Greeks so hastily, they all seized their standards, and hurried on at their best speed in great disorder and disarray. On they went with loud shouts in a wild crowd, thinking to swallow up the runaways.

Meanwhile Pausanias had sent a horseman to the Athenians, when the cavalry first fell upon him, with this message :—

“Men of Athens! now that the great struggle has come, which is to decide the freedom or the slavery of Greece,



we Lacedæmonians and you Athenians are deserted by the other allies, who have fled during the night. We are resolved what to do—we must endeavour, as best we may, to defend ourselves and to help one another. Now, had the horse fallen upon you first, we with the Tegeans (who remained faithful to the Greek cause) would have been bound to render you assistance against them. As, however, the entire body has advanced upon us, it is your place to come to our aid, sore pressed as we are. Should you be so beset that you cannot come, send us your archers, and you will earn our gratitude. We acknowledge that throughout this war there has been no zeal to be compared to yours—we therefore doubt not that you will do us this service."

As soon as the Athenians received this message, they were anxious to go to the aid of the Spartans, and to help them to the utmost; but as they were on the march, the Greeks on the king's side, whose place in the line had been opposite theirs, fell upon them, and so harassed them by their attacks that it was not possible to give the aid they desired. Accordingly, the Lacedæmonians and the Tegeans—whom nothing could induce to quit their side—were left alone to resist the Persians. Including the light-armed, the number of the former was 50,000; while that of the Tegeans was 3,000. As they were about to engage Mardonius and the troops under him, they made ready to offer sacrifice. The victims, however, were unfavourable; and during the delay, many fell on the Spartan side, and a still greater number were wounded. For the Persians had made a rampart of their wicker shields,<sup>1</sup> and shot from behind them such showers of arrows, that the Spartans were in great danger. The victims continued unpropitious; till at last Pausanias raised his eyes to the Plateæan temple of Hēra, and called the goddess to his aid, and besought her not to disappoint the hopes of the Greeks. As he offered his prayer, the Tegeans advanced before the rest, and rushed on against the enemy; and the Lacedæmonians, who had obtained favourable omens the moment that Pausanias prayed, at length after long

<sup>1</sup> The wicker shield used by the Persians, both at this time and in the age of Xenophon (*Anab.* i. viii. § 9), which is not, however, seen at Persēpōlis, seems to have been adopted from the Assyrians, on whose monuments it not unfrequently appears.

delay advanced to the attack ; while the Persians, on their side, stopped shooting, and prepared to meet them. At first the combat was by the wicker shields. Afterwards, when these were swept down, a fierce contest took place by the side of the temple of Demeter, which lasted long, and ended in a hand-to-hand struggle. The barbarians many times seized the Greek spears and broke them ; for in boldness and warlike spirit the Persians were not inferior to the Greeks ; but they were without bucklers,<sup>1</sup> untrained, and far below the enemy in skill. Sometimes singly, sometimes in bodies of ten, now fewer now more, they dashed forward upon the Spartan ranks, and perished.

The fight went most against the Greeks where Mardonius, on a white horse, surrounded by the bravest Persians, the thousand picked men, fought in person. As long as Mardonius was alive, these resisted all attacks, and, while defending themselves, struck down no small number of Spartans ; but after Mardonius fell, and the troops with him, which were the main strength of the army, perished, the remainder yielded to the Lacedæmonians, and took to flight. Their light clothing and want of bucklers did them the greatest harm : for they had to fight against men heavily armed, without defence themselves. Then was the warning of the oracle fulfilled,<sup>2</sup> and the vengeance due to the Spartans for the slaughter of Leonidas was paid them by Mardonius<sup>3</sup>—then too did Pausanias win a victory exceeding in glory all to which our knowledge extends. Mardonius was slain by Aeimnēstus, a man famous in Sparta. As soon as the Persians were put to flight by the Lacedæmonians, they ran hastily away in disorder, and took refuge in their own camp, within the wooden defence which they had raised in the Theban territory. It is a marvel to me how it happened that, although the battle was fought close to the grove of Demeter, yet not a single Persian appears to have died on the sacred soil, nor even to have set foot upon it, while round about the precinct, in the unconsecrated ground, great numbers perished. I imagine—if it is lawful, in matters which con-

<sup>1</sup> The wicker shields of the Persians were useless for close combat, and they seem to have been destroyed in the first attack of the Greeks. The Persians were then exposed without bucklers, and with

no defence but the breastplate, or coat of scale armour, to the spears of their adversaries. Perhaps some were even without this protection.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 163, 190.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 163.

cern the gods, to imagine at all—that the goddess herself kept them out, because they had burnt her dwelling at Eleusis.

Artabazus had disapproved from the first of the king's leaving Mardonius behind him, and had made great endeavours, but in vain, to dissuade Mardonius from risking a battle; when he found that the latter was bent on acting against his wish, he did as follows:—He had a force under his orders which was far from small, amounting to near 40,000 men. Being well aware how the battle was likely to go, as soon as the two armies began to fight he led his soldiers forward in an orderly array, bidding them all march at the same pace, and follow at the same speed as himself. When he had issued these commands, he pretended to lead them to the battle. But in his advance he saw that the Persians were already in flight, and instead of keeping the same order he wheeled his troops suddenly round, and beat a retreat; nor did he even seek shelter within the palisade or behind the walls of Thebes, but hurried on into Phocis, wishing to make his way to the Hellespont with all speed. As for the Greeks upon the king's side, while most of them played the coward purposely, the Bœotians had a long struggle with the Athenians. Those of the Thebans who were attached to the Medes especially displayed no little zeal; far from playing the coward, they fought with such fury that 300 of the best and bravest among them were slain by the Athenians. At last they too were routed, and fled—not, however, in the same direction as the Persians and the crowd of allies, who took no part in the battle, but ran off without striking a blow—but to the city of Thebes. To me it shows very clearly how completely the rest of the barbarians were dependent upon the Persian troops, that here they all fled at once, without coming to blows with the enemy, merely because they saw the Persians running away. So it came to pass that the whole army took to flight, except only the horse, both Persian and Bœotian. These did good service to the flying foot-soldiers by advancing close to the enemy, and separating the Greeks from their own fugitives. The victors, however, pressed on, pursuing and slaying the remnant of the king's army.

Meantime, while the flight continued, tidings reached the

Greeks who were drawn up round the temple of Hera, and so were absent from the battle, that the fight was begun, and that Pausanias was gaining the victory. Hearing this, they rushed forward without any order, the Corinthians taking the upper road across the skirts of Cithæron and the hills, which led straight to the temple of Demeter; while the Megarians and Phliæsiæns followed the level route through the plain. These last had almost reached the enemy, when the Theban horse espied them, and, observing their disarray, despatched against them the squadron of Asōpōdōrus. He charged them with such effect that he left 600 of their number dead upon the plain, and, pursuing the rest, compelled them to seek shelter in Cithæron. So these men perished without honour. The Persians, and the multitude with them, who fled to the wooden fortress, were able to ascend into the towers before the Lacedæmonians came. Thus placed, they proceeded to strengthen the defences as best they could; and when the Lacedæmonians arrived, a sharp fight took place at the rampart. As long as the Athenians were away, the barbarians kept their assailants off, and had much the best of the combat, since the Lacedæmonians were unskilled in the attack on walled places; but on the arrival of the Athenians, a more violent assault was made, and the wall was for a long time attacked with fury. In the end the valour and perseverance of the Athenians prevailed—they gained the top of the wall, and, breaking through it, enabled the Greeks to pour in. The first to enter here were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius; among other booty they found the manger from which his horses ate, all of solid brass, and well worth seeing. This manger was given by the Tegeans to the temple of Athēnē Alēā, while the remainder of their booty was brought to be divided among the Greeks. As soon as the wall was broken down, the barbarians no longer kept together in any array, nor was there one among them who thought of making further resistance—in good truth, they were all half dead with fright, huddled as so many thousands were into so narrow and confined a space. With such readiness did they submit to be slaughtered by the Greeks, that of the 300,000 men who composed the army—omitting the 40,000 by whom Artabazus was accompanied in his flight—no

more than 3,000 outlived the battle.<sup>1</sup> Of the Lacedæmonians from Sparta 91 died in this combat; of the Tegeans, 16; of the Athenians, 52.<sup>2</sup>

On the side of the barbarians, the greatest courage was shown, among the foot-soldiers, by the Persians; among the horse, by the Sacæ; while Mardonius himself, as a man, bore off the palm. Among the Greeks, the Athenians and the Tegeans fought well; but the prowess shown by the Lacedæmonians was beyond either.<sup>3</sup> Of this I have but one proof to offer—since all the three nations overthrew the force opposed to them—that the Lacedæmonians fought and conquered the best troops. The bravest man by far on that day was, in my judgment, Aristōdēmus—the same who alone escaped from the slaughter of the 300 at Thermopylæ, and who on that account had to face reproaches and disgrace;<sup>4</sup> next to him were Posidōnius, Philōcŷōn, and Amomphārētus the Spartan. The Spartans, however, who took part in the fight, when the question of “who had distinguished himself most” came to be talked over among them, decided “that Aristodemus, who, on account of the blame which attached to him, had manifestly courted death, and had therefore left his place in the line and behaved like a madman, had done in truth very notable deeds; but Posidonius, who, with no such desire to lose his life, had quitted himself no less gallantly, was so far a braver man than he.” Perhaps it was envy that made them say so. Of those whom I have named as slain in this battle, all, save Aristodemus, received public honours: Aristodemus alone had no honours, because he courted death for the reason mentioned. As for Callīcrātēs,—the most beautiful man, not among the Spartans only, but in the whole Greek camp,—he was not killed

<sup>1</sup> It cannot be doubted that there was an enormous carnage, though this statement may exceed the truth. *Æschylus* (*Persæ*, 814) mentions the “heaps of dead” which would carry down the evidence of the fight to the third generation. *Diōdōrus* (xi. 32) declares that no quarter was given, and lays the number of the slain at 100,000. *Plutarch* (*Vit. Aristid.* chap. 19) follows *Herodotus*. There would, however, be no means of estimating accurately the number

of those who made their escape from the camp and joined the retreating forces of Artabazus. Does *Herodotus* mean to say that the Greeks *spared* only 3,000?

<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch* confirms this statement, but adds that the whole number of Greeks slain was 1,360.

<sup>3</sup> *Æschylus*, although himself an Athenian, assigns the whole credit of the victory at Plataea to the “Dorian spear” (*Persæ*, 812, 813).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 119.

in the battle; for while Pausanias was still consulting the victims, as he sat in his proper place in the line, an arrow struck him on the side. While his comrades advanced to the fight, he was borne out of the ranks, very loth to die, as he showed by the words which he addressed to Arimnēstus, a Plataean: "I grieve, not because I have to die for my country, but because I have not lifted my arm against the enemy, nor done any worthy deed, much as I have desired it." The Athenian who is said to have distinguished himself the most was Sōphănēs, of whom two stories are told: according to one, he wore an iron anchor, fastened to the belt of his breastplate by a brazen chain; this, when he came near the enemy, he threw out, that when they made their charge it might be impossible for him to be driven from his post: as soon as the enemy fled, he took up his anchor and joined the pursuit. The other story relates that Sophanes, instead of having an iron anchor fastened to his breastplate, bore the device of an anchor on his shield, which he never allowed to rest, but made it run round continually.

As soon as the Greeks at Plataea had overthrown the barbarian, a woman came over from the enemy. She was one of the wives of Pharandātēs, a Persian; when she heard that the Persians were slain, and that the Greeks were winning, she adorned herself and her maids with many golden ornaments, and with the best of her apparel, and alighting from her litter, came to the Lacedæmonians before the slaughter was over. When she saw that all the orders were given by Pausanias, whose name and country she had often heard, she knew who he must be: therefore she clasped his knees, and said:—

"King of Sparta!<sup>1</sup> save thy suppliant from the slavery that awaits the captive. Already I am beholden to thee for one service—the slaughter of these men, wretches who had no regard for gods. I am by birth a Cōan, the daughter of Hēgētōridas. The Persians seized me by force in Cōs, and kept me against my will."

"Lady," answered Pausanias, "fear nothing: as a suppliant thou art safe—and still more, if thou hast spoken truth, and Hegetoridas of Cos is thy father—for he is bound to me by closer ties of friendship than any man in those regions." Then Pausanias placed the woman in the charge

<sup>1</sup> Note that she calls him king, though he was only regent. See pp. ix, 175.

of some of the Ephors who were present,<sup>1</sup> and afterwards sent her to Ægina, where she wished to go.

Soon after this the Mantinēans arrived on the field, and found that all was over, and that it was too late to take part in the battle. Greatly distressed, they declared themselves to deserve a fine, as loiterers; and when they learnt that a portion of the Medes had fled under Artabazus, they were anxious to go after them as far as Thessaly. The Lacedæmonians, however, would not permit the pursuit; so they returned to their own land, and sent the commanders of their army into banishment. Soon after the Mantineans, the Elēans arrived, and showed the same sorrow; they too returned home, and banished their commanders.

There was an Æginetan fighting at Plataea whose name was Lampōn, a man of the first rank among his countrymen. He went about this same time to Pausanias, and pressed on him a deed of utter wickedness. "Son of Cleombrōtus,"<sup>2</sup> he said very earnestly, "what thou hast already done is exceedingly great and glorious. By the favour of God thou hast saved Greece, and gained renown beyond all the Greeks of whom we have knowledge. Finish thy work now, that thine own fame may be increased, and that henceforth barbarians may fear to commit outrages on Greeks. When Leonidas was slain at Thermopylæ, Xerxes and Mardonius commanded that he should be beheaded and crucified. Do the like at this time by Mardonius, and thou wilt have glory in Sparta, and throughout the whole of Greece. When he is hanging on a cross, thou hast avenged Leonidas, thy father's brother." Lampon spoke thus, thinking to please Pausanias; but Pausanias answered: "My Æginetan friend, for thy foresight and thy friendliness I am much obliged to thee: but thy advice is not good. First hast thou exalted me to the skies, by thy praise of my country and my deeds; then thou hast cast me down to the ground, by bidding me maltreat the dead, and saying that thus I shall raise myself in men's esteem. Such doings befit barbarians, not Greeks; even in barbarians we detest them.

<sup>1</sup> This presence of Ephors in the camp is very remarkable. Hitherto the kings, notwithstanding the gradual encroachment of the Ephors upon their authority, had at least been uncontrolled in the camp and

on foreign expeditions. Now this last privilege begins to suffer invasion. Ephors, however, do not yet, for a considerable period, *regularly* accompany the king when he goes abroad.

<sup>2</sup> See p. ix.

On such terms, then, I could not wish to please the Æginetans, nor those who think as they think—enough for me to gain the approval of my countrymen, by righteous deeds and righteous words. Leonidas, whom thou wouldst have me avenge, is abundantly avenged already. Surely the countless lives here taken are enough to avenge, not him alone, but all who fell at Thermopylæ. Come not again before me with such words, nor with such counsel; and thank my forbearance that thou art not punished.” Then Lampon went his way.

After this Pausanias caused proclamation to be made, that no one should lay hands on the loot, but that the helots should bring it all to one place. So the helots went through the camp, and found many tents richly adorned with furniture of gold and silver, couches overlaid with the same, and golden bowls, goblets, and other drinking-vessels. On the carriages were bags containing gold and silver kettles; from the bodies of the slain they took bracelets and chains, and scymitars of gold—of embroidered apparel no one made account. The helots at this time stole many things of much value, which they sold to the Æginetans; they brought in no small quantity as well, chiefly such things as it was not possible to hide. This was the beginning of the great wealth of the Æginetans, who bought the gold of the helots as if it had been brass.<sup>1</sup> When all the loot had been brought together, a tenth of the whole was set apart for the Delphian god; of this was made the golden tripod which stands on the bronze serpent with three heads, quite close to the altar.<sup>2</sup> Portions were also set apart for the gods of Olympia and of the Isthmus: from which were made, in the one case, a bronze

<sup>1</sup> This ignorance of the helots has been well compared to that of the Swiss after the battle of Granson, when, according to Philippe de Comines, they “ne connurent les biens qu'ils eurent en leurs mains . . . il y en eut qui vendirent grande quantité de plats et d'esuelles d'argent, pour deux grands blancs la pièce, *cuidans que ce fust estaing*” (*Mémoires*, v. 2).

<sup>2</sup> The fate of the tripod is curious. The golden portion of it was plundered by the Phocians in

the Sacred War (Pausan. x. xiii. § 5); the bronze stand, which remained at Delphi to the time of Pausanias, was carried to Constantinople by the Emperor Constantine, and placed in the Hippodrome, where it continues to the present day. During the occupation of Constantinople by the Western Powers in 1880, not only were excavations made, and the serpent laid bare to its base, but by the application of chemical solvents the inscription was almost entirely recovered (see p. 148).



Zeus ten cubits high;<sup>1</sup> and in the other, a bronze Poseidon of seven cubits.<sup>2</sup> After this, the rest of the spoil was divided among the soldiers, each of whom received less or more according to his deserts; a distribution too was made of the Persian women, of the gold and silver, the beasts of burden, and all the other valuables. For Pausanias there were set apart ten specimens of each kind of thing—women, horses, talents, camels, or whatever else there was in the spoil.

Here is another story of the time. When Xerxes fled from Greece, he left his war-tent with Mardonius: when Pausanias, therefore, saw the tent with its adornments of gold and silver, and its hangings of many colours, he gave commandment to the bakers and the cooks to make him a banquet ready, such as they did for Mardonius. Then they made ready as they were bidden; and Pausanias, seeing the couches of gold and silver decked out with their rich coverings, and the tables of gold and silver, and the feast prepared with all magnificence, was astonished at the good things set before him, and laughingly gave orders to his own men to provide a Spartan supper. When the suppers were served, and a vast difference was seen between the two, Pausanias laughed, and sent his servants to call the Greek generals. On their coming, he pointed to the two boards, and said:—

“I sent for you, Greeks, to show you the folly of this Median commander, who when enjoying such fare as this must needs come here to rob us of our penury.”

The day after the battle, the body of Mardonius disappeared; but who stole it I cannot say with certainty. I have heard of a number of persons, and those too of many nations, who are said to have given him burial; and I know that many have received large sums for this from Artontēs, son of Mardonius; but I cannot discover with any certainty which of them it was who took the body

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias saw this statue, with its inscription still perfect, at the distance of nearly seven centuries. It stood in the space between the great temple and the council-house, and looked towards the east (Pausan. v. xxiii. § 1). The inscription, like that on the tripod, simply gave the names of the nations.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias mentions three statues of Poseidon at the Isthmus, two in the pronāos or ante-chapel of the great temple, and one in the chapel of Palæmon within the sacred precinct (ii. i. § 6, iii. § 1). But he does not identify any of them with this Colossus.

away and buried it. The Greeks, after sharing the booty upon the field of Plataea, proceeded to bury their own dead, each state apart. The Lacedæmonians made three graves : in one they buried their youths, among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates ; in another, the rest of the Spartans ; and in the third, the helots.<sup>1</sup> The Tegeans buried all their dead in a single grave ; as also did the Athenians theirs, and the Megarians and Phliasians those who were slain by the horse : as for the other tombs which are to be seen at Plataea, they were raised, as I understand, by the Greeks whose troops took no part in the battle ; as they were ashamed of themselves, they erected empty barrows upon the field, to obtain credit with those who should come after. Among others, the Æginetans have a grave there, which goes by their name ; this, as I learn, was made ten years later.

After the Greeks had buried their dead at Plataea, they at once held a council, where it was resolved to make war on Thebes, and to require that those who had joined the Medes should be delivered into their hands. Two men who had been the ringleaders were especially named—Timagēnidas and Attāginus. If the Thebans should refuse to give up the men, it was determined to lay siege to their city, and never stir from it till it should surrender. After this resolve, the army marched upon Thebes, eleven days after the battle of Plataea ; when they had demanded the men and been refused, they began the siege, laying the country waste all round, and making assaults upon the wall. When twenty days were gone, and the violence of the Greeks did not lessen, Timagenidas thus advised his countrymen :—

“Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have determined that they will never desist from the siege till either they take Thebes or we are delivered to them, Boeotia must not suffer any longer on our behalf. If it is money that they covet really, and their demand of us is but a pretext, let money from the treasury of the state be given them : for the state, and not we alone, embraced the cause of

<sup>1</sup> In the time of Pausanias only three graves were shown. One was called the tomb of the Lacedæmonians, another of the Athenians, and the third was said to be the common sepulchre of the other Greeks. The former two bore inscriptions ascribed to Simōnīdēs (Pausan. ix. ii. § 4).

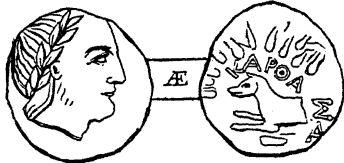
the Medes. If, however, they really want our persons, and on that account press this siege, we are ready to be delivered to them and to stand our trial."

The Thebans thought this offer very right and seasonable ; therefore they despatched a herald without delay to Pausanias, and told him they were willing to deliver up the men. As soon as an agreement had been concluded upon these terms, Attaginus made his escape from the city ; his sons, however, were surrendered in his place ; but Pausanias refused to hold them guilty, since children (he said) could have had no part in such an offence. The rest of those whom the Thebans gave up had expected to obtain a trial, and in that case they trusted to escape by bribery ; but Pausanias was afraid of this, and dismissed at once the whole army of allies, and took the men with him to Corinth, when he slew them all.

Artabazus, who fled from Plataea, was soon far on his journey. When he reached Thessaly, the inhabitants received him hospitably, and made inquiries of the rest of the army, since they were still altogether ignorant of what had taken place at Plataea. On this, as he knew well that, if he told the truth, he would run great risk of death for himself and his whole army—if the facts were once announced, all who learnt them would be sure to fall upon him—Artabazus now answered the Thessalians thus :—

"I am hastening, as ye see, Thessalians, into Thrace ; and I am anxious to use all possible despatch, as I am sent with this force on special business from the main army. Mardonius and his host are close behind me, and may be looked for shortly. When he comes, receive him as ye have received me, and show him every kindness. Be sure ye will never regret it, if ye do."

With these words he took his departure, and marched his troops at their best speed through Thessaly and Macedon straight on Thrace, following the inland route, which was the shortest, and using all possible despatch. He succeeded in reaching Byzantium (Constantinople) himself ; but a great part of his army perished on the road—many being cut to pieces by the Thracians, and others dying from hunger and excess of toil. From Byzantium Artabazus set sail, and crossed the strait, returning into Asia.



COIN OF CEOS.

### VIII.

#### The Battle of Mycale, and Subsequent Events of B.C. 479. End of the Persian Invasion.

ON the same day that the blow was struck at Plataea, another defeat befell the Persians at Mýcālē in Ionia. While the Greek fleet under Leotychidēs the Lacedæmonian was still lying inactive at Delos, there arrived an embassy from Samos, of three men, Lampōn, Athēnāgōras, and Hēgēsistrātus. The Samians had sent them secretly, concealing their departure both from the Persians and from their own tyrant Theomēstor, whom the Persians had made ruler of Samos.<sup>1</sup> When the envoys came before the Greek commanders, Hegesistratus urged them with many arguments. "The Ionians only needed to see them arrive in order to revolt from the Persians; the Persians would never await their coming, or if they did, it would be to offer them the finest booty that they could anywhere expect to gain"; at the same time he made appeal to the gods they all worshipped alike, and besought them to deliver Greeks from slavery, and to drive back the barbarians. "This might very easily be done, for the Persian ships were bad sailers, and no match for theirs"; he added, moreover, "that if there was any suspicion that the Samians intended to deal treacherously, they were ready to become hostages themselves, and to return on board the ships of their allies to Asia." When the Samian stranger continued importunately beseeching him, Leotychides, either because he wanted an omen, or by mere chance, as God guided him, asked the man, "Samian stranger! tell me thy name." "Hegesistratus (army-leader)," answered the other, and might have said more, but Leotychides stopped him by exclaiming, "I accept this omen of thy name. Only, before

<sup>1</sup> Page 150.

thou goest, swear to us, thyself and thy brother-envoys, that the Samians will indeed be our warm friends and allies." No sooner had he spoken than he carried out the plan. The Samians pledged their word upon the spot; and oaths of alliance were exchanged between them and the Greeks. This done, two of the envoys forthwith sailed away; as for Hegesistratus, Leotychides kept him to accompany his own fleet, for he considered his name a good omen. The Greeks remained where they were that day; on the next they sacrificed, and found the victims favourable; so they put to sea, and sailed across from Delos to Samos. Arriving off Călămi, on the Samian coast, they brought the fleet to anchor near the temple of Hēra there, and prepared to engage the Persians at sea. These no sooner heard of the approach of the Greeks, than they dismissed the Phœnician ships, and sailed with the remainder to the mainland; for it had been resolved not to risk a battle, since the Persian fleet was thought to be no match for the enemy. They fled, therefore, to the mainland to be under the protection of their land army, now at Mycale,<sup>1</sup> composed of the troops left by Xerxes to guard Ionia. This was an army of 60,000 men, under the command of Tigrānēs, a Persian of uncommon beauty and stature. The commanders resolved therefore to betake themselves to these troops for defence, to drag their ships ashore, and to build a rampart round them, which might at once protect the fleet, and serve as a place of refuge for themselves. Then the commanders put to sea; and passing the temple of the Eumēnīdēs, arrived at the territory of Mycale. There is an ancient temple of Eleusinian Demeter here, and they drew the ships up on the beach, and surrounded them with a rampart made of stones and trunks of trees, cutting down all the fruit-trees which grew near, and defending the barrier with stakes firmly planted in the ground. Here they were prepared either to win a battle or undergo a siege.

When the Greeks understood that the barbarians had fled to the mainland, they were much annoyed at their escape: nor could they determine at first what to do, whether to return home, or proceed to the Hellespont. In the end they resolved to do neither, but to sail for the

<sup>1</sup> Mycale is the modern *Cape S. Mary*, the promontory which runs out towards Samos.

continent. So they made themselves ready for a sea-fight and prepared boarding-gangways, and whatever else was necessary ; then they sailed to Mycale. Now, when they came to the camp, they found no one would venture out to meet them, but saw the ships all dragged ashore within the barrier, and a strong land force drawn up upon the beach ; Leotychides therefore sailed along the shore in his ship, keeping as close-hauled to the land as possible, and by the voice of a herald thus addressed the Ionians :—

“Men of Ionia—ye who can hear me speak—take heed to what I say ; the Persians will not understand a word that I utter. When we join battle with them, before aught else remember Freedom—and next, recollect our watchword, *Hēbē*. If there be any who cannot hear me, let those who hear report my words to them.”

In all this Leotychides had the same design as Themistocles at Artemisium.<sup>1</sup> Either the barbarians would not know what he had said, and the Ionians would be persuaded to revolt from them ; or, if his words were reported to the barbarians, they would mistrust their Greek soldiers. After Leotychides had spoken thus, the Greeks brought their ships to land, and disembarked, and arrayed themselves for battle. When the Persians saw them marshalling their array, and remembered the advice which had been offered to the Ionians, their first act was to disarm the Samians, whom they suspected of complicity with the enemy. For it had happened lately that a number of the Athenians who lingered in Attica were made prisoners by the troops of Xerxes, and brought to Asia on board the barbarian fleet ; these men had all been ransomed by the Samians, and sent back to Athens, well furnished with provisions for the way. On this account mainly, the Samians were suspected, as men who had paid the ransom of 500 of the king's enemies. After disarming them, the Persians despatched the Milesians to guard the paths which lead up to the heights of Mycale, because (they said) the Milesians were well acquainted with that district : their true object was to remove them from the camp. In this way the Persians tried to secure themselves against such of the Ionians as they thought likely, if occasion offered, to rebel. They then joined shield to shield, and made a breastwork against the enemy.

The Greeks now, with their preparations finished, began to move towards the barbarians; when lo! as they advanced, a rumour flew through the host from one end to the other—that the Greeks had fought and conquered the army of Mardonius in Boeotia. At the same time a herald's wand was seen lying on the beach. Many things prove to me that the gods take part in the affairs of man. How else, when the battles of Mycale and Plataea were about to happen on the self-same day, should such a rumour have reached the Greeks in that region, greatly cheering the whole army, and making them more eager than before to risk their lives? It was another strange coincidence, that both battles should have been fought near a precinct of Eleusinian Demeter. The fight at Plataea took place, as I said before,<sup>1</sup> close to one of Demeter's temples; and now the battle at Mycale was to be fought near another. The rumour too was accurate in saying that the Greeks with Pausanias had already gained their victory; for the fight at Plataea occurred early in the day, whereas that at Mycale was towards evening. That the two battles were really fought on the same day of the same month became apparent when inquiries were made a short time afterwards. Before the rumour reached them, the Greeks were full of fear, not so much on their own account, as for their countrymen, and for Greece herself, that she should be worsted in her struggle with Mardonius. But when the voice flew towards them, their fear vanished, and they charged more vigorously and at quicker pace. So the Greeks and the barbarians rushed with the same eagerness to the fray; for the Hellespont and the Islands formed the prize for which they were about to fight.

The Athenians, and the force drawn up with them, who formed one-half of the army, marched along the shore, where the country was low and level; but the way for the Lacedæmonians, and the troops with them, lay across hills and a torrent-course. Thus, while the Lacedæmonians were marching round, the Athenians on the other wing had already closed with the enemy. As long as the wicker shields of the Persians continued standing, they made a brave defence, and had by no means the worst of the battle; but when the Athenians and the allies with them wished to make the victory their own, and not to share

it with the Lacedæmonians, and cheered each other on with shouts, and attacked them with the utmost fierceness, then at last all changed. Bursting through the line of shields, and rushing forwards in a body, the Greeks fell upon the Persians; and, though these bore the charge and for a long time maintained their ground, at length they took refuge in their intrenchments. Here the Athenians themselves, with those who followed them in the line of battle, the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, and the Trœzenians, pressed so close on the steps of their flying foes, that they entered the fortress with them. Then, when even their fortress was taken, the barbarians no longer offered resistance, but fled hastily away, except the Persians only. These still continued to fight in knots of a few men against the Greeks, who kept pouring into the intrenchment. And here, while two of the Persian commanders fled, two fell upon the field: Artajntēs and Ithamitrēs, who were commanders of the fleet, escaped; Mardontēs, and the commander of the land force, Tigrānēs, died fighting. The Persians still held out, when the Lacedæmonians, and their part of the army, reached the camp, and joined in the remainder of the battle. The number of Greeks who fell in the struggle here was large; the Sicyonians especially lost many, and, among the rest, Perilēōs their general. The Samians, who served with the Medes, and who, although disarmed, still remained in the camp, saw from the very beginning of the fight that the victory was doubtful, and did all in their power to give help to the Greeks. When the other Ionians saw this, they followed their example, and revolted and attacked the Persians. The Milesians had been ordered, for the better security of the Persians, to guard the mountain-paths,—that, in case any accident befell them such as had now happened, they might still have guides to conduct them into the heights of Mycale,—they had also been removed to hinder them from making an outbreak in the Persian camp; but instead of obeying their orders, they broke them in every way. They guided the flying Persians by wrong roads, which brought them into the presence of the enemy; at last they set upon them with their own hands, and showed themselves the hottest of their adversaries. Ionia, therefore, on this day revolted a second time from the Persians.

When the Greeks had slaughtered the greater portion of



the barbarians, either in the battle or in the rout, they set fire to their ships and burnt them, with the bulwark which had been raised for their defence, first removing all the booty, and carrying it to the beach. Besides other plunder, they found here many caskets of money. When they had burnt the rampart and the vessels, the Greeks sailed to Samos, and there discussed the future of the Ionians, whom they thought of removing out of Asia. Ionia they proposed to abandon to the barbarians; their doubt was, in what part of their own possessions in Greece they should settle its inhabitants. For it seemed to them quite impossible to be always on the watch to guard and protect Ionia; yet without this there could be no hope that the Ionians would escape the vengeance of the Persians. Hereupon the Peloponnesian leaders proposed that the seaport towns of such Greeks as had sided with the Mædes should be taken from them, and made over to the Ionians. The Athenians were very unwilling that any removal should take place at all, and disliked the Peloponnesians discussing plans for the welfare of their colonists. As they set themselves against the change, the Peloponnesians yielded with a good will. Hereupon the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders, who had helped the Greeks at this time, were received into the league of the allies; and took the oaths, binding themselves to be faithful, and not desert the cause. Then the Greeks sailed away to the Hellespont, where they meant to break down the bridges, which they supposed to be still extended across the strait. The barbarians who escaped from the battle—a scanty remnant—took refuge in the heights of Mycale, whence they made good their retreat to Sardis. During the march, Masistēs, son of Darius, who had been present at the disaster, bitterly attacked Artayntēs, the general. Amongst other things, he called him “worse than a woman,” for the way in which he had exercised his command, and said there was no punishment which he did not deserve, for doing the king’s house such grievous hurt. Now with the Persians there is no greater insult than to call a man “worse than a woman.” So when Artayntes had borne the reproaches for some time, he became indignant, and drew his dirk<sup>1</sup> upon Masistes, eager to kill him. When

<sup>1</sup> Or “acinaces” (see p. 69).

Xēnägōras, a Halicarnassian who stood behind Artayntes at the time, saw him in the act of rushing forward, he seized him suddenly round the waist, and lifted him from his feet and dashed him upon the ground; this gave time for the spearmen of Masistes' guard to come to his aid. By this act Xenagoras gained the favour, not of Masistes only, but of Xerxes himself, whose brother he had preserved from death; the king rewarded his action by appointing him ruler of the whole of Cilicia. After this the men continued their march, and came safe to Sardis; here they found the king, who had been there ever since he lost the sea-fight and fled from Athens to Asia.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the Greeks, who had left Mycale, and sailed for the Hellespont, were forced by contrary winds to anchor near Lectum; from this place they afterwards sailed on to Abydos. On arriving here, they discovered that the bridges, which they had expected to find standing, and which had been the chief cause of their advancing to the Hellespont, were already broken up and destroyed. Upon this Leotychides and the Peloponnesians under him were anxious to sail back to Greece; but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their captain, thought it wisest to remain, and resolved to make an attempt upon the Chersonese. While the Peloponnesians sailed away to their homes, the Athenians crossed over from Abydos to the Chersonese,<sup>2</sup> and there laid siege to Sestos.

As Sestos was the strongest fortress in all that region, the rumour no sooner spread that the Greeks had arrived at the Hellespont, than great numbers flocked there from all towns in the neighbourhood. Among the rest there came a Persian, Œobazus, from the city of Cardia, where he had laid up the shore cables, used in the construction of the bridges. The town was guarded by its own Æolian inhabitants, but contained also some Persians, and a great host of their allies. The whole district was under the rule of Artayctes, one of the king's satraps; he was a Persian, but a wicked and cruel man. When

<sup>1</sup> Page 163.

<sup>2</sup> The Athenians had a sort of claim to the proprietorship of the Chersonese, grounded on the dominion of the family of Miltiades.

It was also very important to the Athenians to open the strait as soon as possible, since Athens depended greatly on the corn-trade from the Euxine.

Xerxes was marching against Athens, he had craftily possessed himself of the treasures belonging to Protesilaüs,<sup>1</sup> which were at Elæus in the Chersonese. At this place is the tomb of Protesilaus, surrounded by a sacred precinct; and here there was great store of wealth, vases of gold and silver, works in brass, garments, and other offerings, all of which Artayctes made his own; he had gained the king's consent by thus cunningly addressing him:—

“Master, there is in this region the house of a Greek, who, when he attacked thy territory, met his due reward, and perished. Give me his house, I pray thee, that hereafter men may fear to carry arms against thy land.”

By these words he easily persuaded Xerxes to give him the man's house; for there was no suspicion of his design in the king's mind. In a certain sense he could truly say that Protesilaus had borne arms against the king's land; because the Persians considered all Asia to belong to them, and to their king. So when Xerxes allowed his request, he brought all the treasures from Elæus to Sestos, and made the sacred land into cornfields and pasture-grounds. It was this Artayctes who was now besieged by the Athenians—and he was but ill prepared for defence; since the Greeks had fallen upon him unawares, nor had he in the least expected them. When it was now late in the autumn, and the siege still continued, the Athenians began to murmur that they were kept abroad so long; as they were not able to seize the place, they besought their commanders to take them back to their own country. But they refused to move till either the city had fallen, or the Athenian people ordered them home. So the soldiers patiently bore up against their sufferings. Meanwhile those within the walls were reduced to the last straits, and forced even to boil the very thongs of their beds for food. At last, when these too failed them, Artayctes and Cēobazus, with the native Persians, fled from the place by night, and let themselves down from the wall at

<sup>1</sup> Protesilaus, the son of Iphīclūs, was one of the Trojan heroes. He led the Thessalians of Phthiōtis, and was the first Greek who fell on the disembarkation of the army (Hom. *Il.* ii. 695-702). His tomb at Elæus

is mentioned by many writers. Like the tombs on the opposite coast, and the well-known Cynossēma near Mādýtus, it was a mere pyramidal mound or barrow.

the back of the town, where the blockading force was smallest. As soon as day dawned, the men of the Chersonese made signals to the Greeks from the walls, and let them know what had happened, at the same time throwing open the gates of their city. Hereupon, while some of the Greeks entered the town, others, and those the more numerous, set out in pursuit of the enemy. Œobazus fled into Thrace; but there the Apsinthian Thracians seized him, and offered him, after their fashion, to Pleistōrus,<sup>1</sup> one of the gods of their country. His companions also they put to death, but in a different manner. As for Artayctes and the troops with him, who had been the last to leave the town, they were overtaken by the Greeks not far from Ægōs-pōtāmi, and defended themselves stoutly for a time, but were at last either killed or taken prisoners. Those whom they made prisoners the Greeks bound with chains, and brought with them to Sestos. Artayctes and his son were among the number.

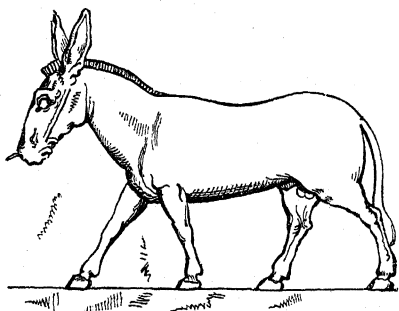
Now the Chersonesites say that the following miracle befell one of the Greeks who guarded the captives. He was broiling some salted fish, when of a sudden they began to leap and quiver, as if they had only just been caught. The rest of the guards hurried round to look, and were greatly amazed at the sight. When Artayctes saw, he called the man to him, and said:—

“Fear not, Athenian stranger, because of this marvel. It has not appeared on thy account, but on mine. Protesilaus of Elæus has sent it to show me, that albeit he is dead and embalmed with salt, he has power from the gods to chastise his injurer. I would fain acquit my debt to him. For the riches which I took from his temple, I will fix my fine at 100 talents—while for myself and this boy of mine, I will give the Athenians 200 talents,<sup>2</sup> on condition that they spare our lives.” The promises of Artayctes failed to persuade Xanthippus. For the men of Elæus, who wished to avenge Protesilaus, entreated that he might be put to death; and Xanthippus wished the same. So they led Artayctes to the tongue of land where the bridges of Xerxes had been fixed—or, according to others, to the knoll above the town of Mādýtus—there

<sup>1</sup> It is conjectured that Pleistōrus was the Thracian Ares. <sup>2</sup> Nearly £50,000 of our money: The name is nowhere found but see p. 9.

they nailed him to a board, and left him hanging. The son of Artayctes they stoned to death before his eyes.

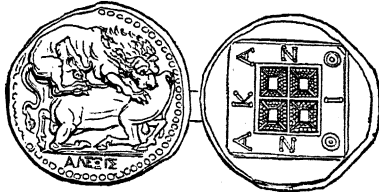
This done, they sailed back to Greece, carrying with them, besides other treasures, the shore cables from Xerxes' bridges, which they wished to dedicate in their temples. This was all that took place that year.



WILD ASS (from Persepolis).



COIN OF PAROS.



COIN OF ACANTHUS.

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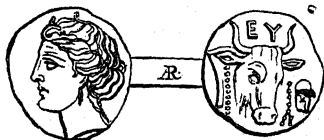
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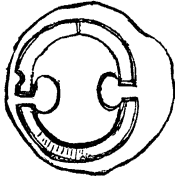
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COIN OF EUBŒA.



COIN OF BŒOTIAN THEBES.

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 —, a Turanian people not far from the Bactrians (perhaps modern Kashgar and Yarkand in Chinese Tartary), 35, 46, 74, 101, 162, 202.  
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- Siceli (Lat. Siculi), inhabitants of Sicily, by origin an Italian people, 21.
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- Sīris, a Greek town in Lucania in Italy, 141.
- Smerdōmēnēs (Bardiya-manas, "of high mind"), a Persian commander, nephew of Darius, 72.
- Sōphānēs, a Greek of Athens, 203.
- Spercheŭs, a river close to Thermopylæ, 106, 108, 118.
- Stesāgōras, an Athenian, son of Cimon, 31.
- Stesilātis, an Athenian general, 35.
- Strabo, a geographer, (born about B.C. 54), 8.
- Strattis, "tyrant" of Chios, 167.
- Strymon, river that bounds Thrace and Macedonia (modern Struma), 57, 78, 163.
- Styra, a Greek town in S. of Eubœa, 33, 122, 136, 186, 187.
- Sunŭm, the southernmost promontory of Attica, 36, 87, 164, 166.
- Susa, the capital of the Persian kings, 1-6, 9, 13, 14, 20, 22, 37, 38, 43, 62, 68, 138, 156, 157.
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- Teīspes (Persian Chishpaish? "long-haired"), a Persian, ancestor of King Darius, 50.
- Telāmon, one of the Æacidæ, 141.
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